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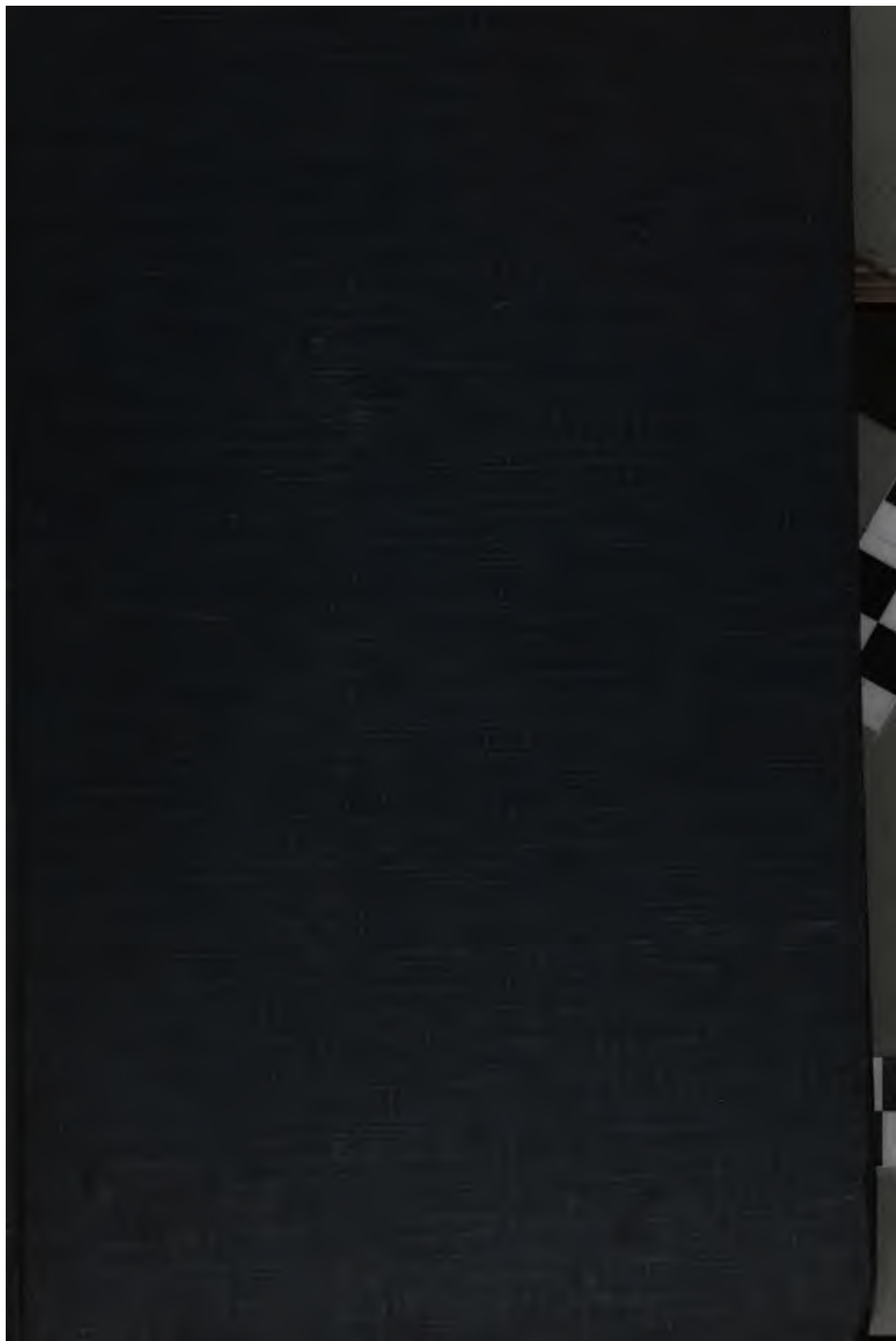
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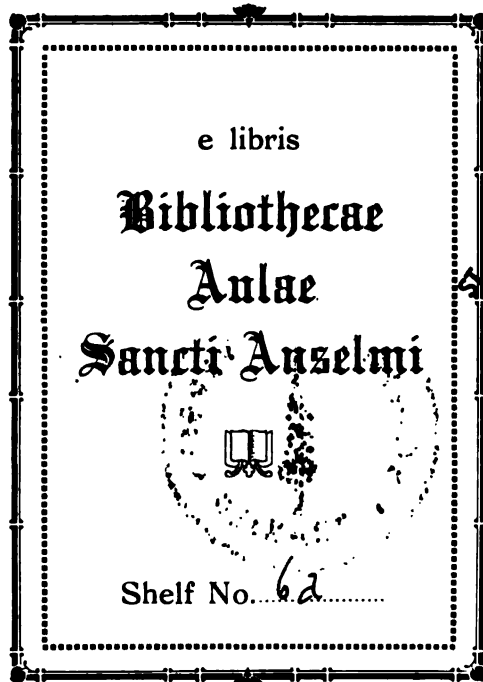


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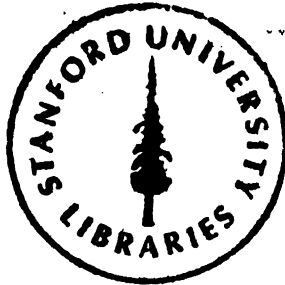
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THE EAST & THE WEST

*A QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR THE
STUDY OF MISSIONS*

VOLUME III.

1905

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The East and The West

JANUARY 1905

A GENERATION OF MISSIONS.

EARLY in August 1872 I sailed from Southampton for India to take up the office of domestic chaplain to the late Bishop Milman, of Calcutta. The Bishop died at Rawal Pindi, in the Punjab, in March 1876, and I came back to England two months later; but I have been a close observer of Missions since 1872, and as the period now almost reaches the third of a century, and covers an entire generation, it may not be out of place to notice some of the changes which have come over the Mission field in these nearly thirty-three years.

I do not propose anything like an exhaustive review. I propose to notice changes that have occurred in four great areas—North America, India, Africa, and China with Japan. In all these continents or countries the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is working, but the conditions under which its agents work have changed in the last generation, and are still changing, and only by accommodation to the shifting conditions of life will the Church meet the needs of the day.

1. The diocese of Rupertsland, formed in 1849, which has its headquarters in Winnipeg, extended from Red River to Moose Fort, 1,200 miles to the east and 3,000

NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

miles to the north-west, up to the year 1872, the year from which I start in this short retrospect. In 1872 the three dioceses of Moosonee, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca were formed from it, and when recently the great Archbishop (Machray) died he had seen fresh dioceses formed bearing the names of Mackenzie River (1883), Qu'Appelle (1884), Calgary (1887, though the Bishop of Saskatchewan held both dioceses, Saskatchewan and Calgary, for some years further), Selkirk (1891), and Keewatin (1899). This immense development was due to the union of Hudson's Bay Territory with the Dominion of Canada in 1870, which has completely changed all the conditions of life. Manitoba and the great North West Territories have become practically a new British colony, for before 1870 they were almost unknown country. Now a traveller finds in Winnipeg a great, modern town with electric light, electric cars, and telephones. Even a little town like Brandon, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, when I visited it in the height of the great wheat harvest of 1901, had some 6,000 people, I found fitted out with electric cars and electric light, and when the Rector wished to communicate with the Archbishop, who lived 120 miles off, he invariably spoke through the telephone. The whole north-west country is being opened up. As I stood in the centre of the wheat land and observed the enormous yield being prepared for export for England, and took part in the consecration of a little church filled with English and Scotch settlers, and attended a meeting of the committee formed for the purpose of carefully going through and revising the grants made by the S.P.G. or the Colonial and Continental Church Society, I could not but realise how completely the conditions of life in all this great territory had changed. The Church in Canada proper had united with the Church in the province of Rupertsland, and with the detached dioceses in British Columbia, to form one branch of the Anglican communion for the entire Dominion of Canada, and Churchmen were gallantly striving to meet their new conditions and make provision for the people who were settling in the new country.

But I doubt if the Church in England has ever adequately realised the importance of strengthening the

hands of our friends in that part of the Dominion during the early years of their development. Methodists and Presbyterians have understood this better. Twenty-one years ago I travelled to Canada with an excellent Presbyterian minister from Ottawa, who had been permitted to plead the cause of Canadian Presbyterians before the General Assemblies of the Established, Free, and United Presbyterian Churches, and the result was seen in the larger means placed at the disposal of the Presbyterian authorities in Manitoba and elsewhere. In 1899—I quote from Mr. Pascoe's "Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.," p. 180—"one-third of the Church people in Manitoba were reported to be outside the services of our clergy, and over 120 congregations were without churches, almost all the Mission districts being larger than the English diocese of Sodor and Man." It is bad policy to starve a colony in spiritual things. While Canada is one of our oldest colonies, and Lower Canada, once mainly dependent upon the S.P.G. for its spiritual provision, has become self-supporting, the great central part of the Dominion, let alone parts of British Columbia, will for some years need the fostering care of the Mother Church, and should also receive larger help than it at present receives from the older Canadian dioceses. Although the wealth of Canada is largely in the hands of men who are not members of our communion, and the preponderating influence in the Province of Quebec is Roman Catholic, there is still available, if only the hearts of its holders can be touched, means of building up the Church in the Province of Rupertsland which will enable it to take its rightful place. Methodists and Presbyterians have realised the unity of their Church life in the Dominion in a manner which may often teach a lesson to our own people. I am not forgetting that the Canadian Church has formed a missionary diocese of Algoma in the land that divides Lower Canada from the Province of Rupertsland, and I am glad to think that, through the use of American capital, Sault Ste. Marie, on the narrow strait through which Lake Superior forces its waters south, bids fair to become hereafter a city of great importance, and, I trust, possibly to make the diocese self-supporting; but I venture to express the opinion that the Province of Canada

has not done enough for its missionary diocese, and the retrospect of a generation in British North America fills my mind with ideals, potentialities, opportunities, which a consecrated imperialism must turn into realised facts.

2. I turn from North America to India. I shall venture to refer to an article on the Church in India which I contributed to the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1877, as representing the best judgment that I could form of the condition of the Indian Church in the early period under review, and to the report of the Boards of Missions published by the S.P.C.K. in 1894, under the division "India and Ceylon," as representing a later judgment formed with the best material in my possession. But there are certain features in Church life, and in the conditions under which our work has to be done, which it may be well to accentuate in reviewing the period as a whole.

First, then, it has been a period of largely developed organisation. When I came home in 1876 the diocese of Calcutta contained what is now included in the dioceses of Calcutta, Lahore, Rangoon, Lucknow, Nagpore, and Chota Nagpore, while the old diocese of Madras has developed into the dioceses of Madras, Travancore, and Tinnevely. The method of development illustrates an English characteristic. We seldom develop logically. We work out practically some solution, and the practical instincts of our race have to take the place of theory. Else no one could defend a system by which (*a*) three dioceses (Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay) are founded by statute; (*b*) four (Lahore, Rangoon, Lucknow, and Nagpore) by letters patent issued by the Crown for new sees in territory added to British India since the passing of the statutes to which I have already referred, the Bishop of Calcutta handing over by commission certain parts of his diocese to add to the sphere of work of the Bishops of Lucknow and Nagpore, and the State adding the salary of a senior chaplain to a like endowment from private sources; (*c*) one diocese (Travancore) is founded on the Jerusalem Bishopric Act; and (*d*) two are formed by contract, the missionary dioceses of Tinnevely and Chota Nagpore, the bishops receiving the voluntary obedience of their clergy, and the diocesan bishops

handing over jurisdiction by commission to the two bishops concerned. Still the development, illogical and fragmentary, has been greatly to the advantage of India and its Church, and will, I trust, be continued; and the synodical system, largely due to the efforts of Bishop Johnson, has placed the Church in India on a far higher level of action, and enabled some realisation of a corporate life.

Secondly, the period has been one of even greater development of other religious bodies. Without referring to the remarkable activity of the Roman Catholic Church, in comparison of the former period, when the Portuguese Church at Goa mainly controlled the situation, I wish especially to accentuate the extraordinary development of American non-episcopal Missions, of which the English public know but little. There are four main American bodies which have poured missionaries into India, both men and women—Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopal Methodists, and Baptists. The Church of England is in Burma—that I may take a single illustration—the third religious body in strength, the Roman Catholics being second, and the American Baptists far and away the first, dating from the time of Adoniram Judson. From an imperial point of view, I look with some concern on this wilful neglect of England to Christianise her great dependency, and her leaving the task so largely to American non-episcopal (in our sense) Christians. I have often said, and I repeat it, that the growth of Christianity in India is, to a man who will think it out historically, a remarkable phenomenon since the Indian Mutiny, and giving promise of a great future, but a century hence, when it will have attained dimensions that even scoffers will have to take account of, if the development continues in the present proportion, it will be due more to America than to England.

Thirdly, the period has been characterised by a growing readiness to learn what others have to teach us whether within or without our own communion. This very Review illustrates my meaning, for *THE EAST AND THE WEST* has received communications from without the Anglican body to our great advantage; but India has specially illustrated this readiness. The decennial statistics and resolutions arrived at by non-Roman Christian bodies have

been greatly to the promoting of a common understanding between men who are trying to promote the Kingdom of God, however widely they may differ in their apprehension of the Kingdom. When the late Dr. Norman Macleod visited Calcutta he was welcomed by a body of Christian missionaries with Bishop Milman in the chair. We have learnt much from each other. The lesson of medical missions first came to us, I believe, from Scotland—or at least was first worked out in Presbyterianism. The Free Church has been specially prominent in its educational work. The American Baptists in Burma, long before other societies had apprehended the truth, had learnt the wisdom of acting on the words "To him that hath shall be given," by strengthening successful Missions and putting their very best men to train the best natives. The Oxford Mission to Calcutta and the Cambridge Mission to Delhi have taught lessons to all India. The Cawnpore Mission of the S.P.G., the University Hostel of the C.M.S. Mission at Allahabad, the "Community" Missions, the agencies amongst women of the S.P.G., C.M.S., C.E.Z.M.S., and other bodies, have taught lessons from which all can learn. The period has been one of distinct advance in the willingness to treasure up experiences gathered from all sides, in the building up of the Church of God.

And lastly—though I confess to some little disappointment that the progress has not been greater, there has been in this period a deeper sense of the truth that it is to be mainly through natives themselves that we are to look for the winning of India to Christ. I had hoped that in less than this period we might have taken some steps towards raising natives to the episcopate. Bishop French taught us long ago that we had not adequately realised the meaning of our Lord's seeming to neglect the multitude to train twelve men, and St. John's Divinity School, which he founded at Lahore, was the expression of his profound conviction that we must choose selected men, and give them the highest and deepest moulding, spiritual and intellectual, that it is in our power to give. But I hope that this giving of our very best to a few picked men will take yet more definite shape in the time to come. Bishop's College, Calcutta, happily revived and transformed since I knew it, is one illustration of what

I mean, though the day is long past when men could imagine, as did Bishop Midleton, that any one college could be for the use of India at large with its infinite varieties of race and mind. Upon the spiritual and intellectual development of carefully selected natives of India the future evangelisation of India will surely mainly depend.

3. If British North America and India have shown considerable developments during the past generation in reference to the Church's work, in Africa there have been such extraordinary openings as to constitute a wholly new departure. Old men may now dream dreams and young men see visions which to their forefathers would have seemed extravagant even as castles in the air. The story of the Uganda Mission is wholly within the period that I am taking for this retrospect. The first party sent out by the C.M.S., at the instance of Stanley, left England in June 1876. Bishop Hannington was consecrated in January 1884, and murdered in 1885. Uganda has now received its third Bishop, and the history of the mission has given heart to the friends of foreign missions all over the world. It is not only that the number and earnestness of the native Christians have been so striking, but that these people seem likely to be the future missionaries of the interior of Africa. Already a series of missions in connection with the C.M.S. stretches across Africa from East to West. Lower down, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa has largely developed its organisation with most beneficent results. The opening-up of Mashonaland has discovered another white man's country in Africa under British rule, while the recent war in South Africa has added Orange River State and the Transvaal to the number of British colonies, and the Cape to Cairo railway has become a very real possibility of the future. I hardly like to speculate on what all this may mean. But at least it means this: that our English responsibilities and opportunities in Africa are ten times greater than when I went to India in 1872, and as South Africa has been mainly indebted to the S.P.G. for its ecclesiastical organisation, the responsibilities of the old Society for development of work among colonists and natives alike are indefinitely enhanced; and again I say that a consecrated imperialism must translate opportunities offered into opportunities seized.

4. On the fourth head—China and Japan—I must practise a wise reserve. But who can say what will be the issue of the war between Russia and Japan in its bearing on the evangelisation of the Far East? If casual travellers have sometimes scoffed at missions, one distinguished traveller, whom we have lately lost, Mrs. Bishop, was converted from indifference to a keen appreciation of missions by what she herself saw among Eastern peoples, both of the degradation of heathen races and of the change effected by Christianity, and the work in China made her say that there, more than in any other country that she had seen, to be a Christian meant to be a missionary. The steadfastness of the greater number of Chinese Christians under the Boxer persecutions elicited from another great traveller, who has recently won laurels in Thibet, Sir F. E. Young-husband, a letter to the *Times* drawing attention to the sterling qualities of Chinese Christians, and despite the Boxer outbreak the openings in China in the past generation have increased so greatly that my only sorrow is that other Christian bodies have seized them so much more than the Church of England. The missions of both S.P.G. and C.M.S. have indeed developed and been admirably worked, but had we realised the opportunities we should have done far more for China and for Corea. Corea, indeed, bids fair to be opened up by this war, and I only refrain from speculating further because the war is not over. But the Nippon Sei Kokwai, the Holy Catholic Church of Japan, with the missions of S.P.G. and C.M.S. and the American Church as its constituent elements, gives us the strongest hope that a nation which has shown in this terrible conflict such extraordinary qualities, has aspects of its own to add to the world's conception of the manifold wisdom of God.

I do not know a generation which has been more striking than the last in its developments, both civil and religious. We open the year 1905 with conditions wholly different to those of 1872. All around us are great possibilities. Will the Church of England rise to a true sense of her providential position in the advance of the Master's Kingdom?

EDGAR ALBAN.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANITY.

I.—It is often said that one great hindrance to the spread of Christianity in India is that Christianity comes to the peoples of India in a Western dress. The statements of doctrine, confessions of faith, modes of worship, systems of government introduced into India by various Christian bodies are in the main Western in character. The Christian Faith indeed is universal, and the Christian Church catholic ; but, as it appears to the peoples of India, Christianity is the religion of the West.

In an article recently published in one of the English Reviews, the supposed failure of Missions in India is attributed largely to the fact that the doctrine and ideal of life set forth by the Christian Church through its missionaries is aggressively English, and does not in the least appeal to the Indian mind. What is needed, it is said, is an oriental form of Christianity to appeal to oriental minds and hearts. We need an oriental statement of Christian truths, oriental modes of worship, and oriental methods of work.

Now in this demand for an oriental Christ and an oriental form of Christianity there is an obvious danger. It is apt to ignore the true reason why Christianity fails to appeal to the educated and orthodox Hindus. The failure is not primarily due to the fact that Christianity comes to them in a Western dress, but to the fact that its truths are fundamentally opposed to their leading principles of thought. The Christian doctrine of a personal God, perfect in righteousness, wisdom, and love, is totally opposed to the pantheism of the prevalent school of Hindu philosophy. To the majority of Hindu thinkers personality and infinity are incompatible ; righteousness,

wisdom, and love are attributes which involve limitation, and so cannot belong to an infinite Being. Hence the Christian idea of God seems to degrade the Infinite to the level of finite existence.

In the same way, the Christian idea of man is repugnant to the prevalent modes of Indian thought. Christianity regards the personality of man as of the essence of his nature, and teaches that the highest destiny of man is the perfect development of his personality in its true relation to the infinite personality of God. But the Indian view of man makes his personality a kind of disease, the ultimate source of all his misery and weakness, so that the highest aim of human life is to get rid of personality altogether, and be lost in the impersonal being of the Infinite. It is obvious that these fundamentally different views of God and man affect profoundly the whole scale of moral and religious ideas. The ideas of sin, moral responsibility, and salvation which are natural to a Christian are entirely unnatural to a Hindu philosopher.

One of the greatest obstacles, therefore, to the spread of Christianity amongst educated men in India is the fact that a false philosophy has gone far to undermine and destroy those pre-suppositions of natural religion which render the evidence for the truth of Christianity credible. Where the idea of a personal God, Who has created and rules the world, and Who cares for and loves the creatures whom He has made, has been obscured or lost, it is difficult to bring home to men the probability of a revelation or the reasonableness of the Incarnation. In India it is necessary, to a very large extent, to revive a belief in natural religion before Christianity can be made intelligible. And what is true in matters of religious doctrine is even more true as regards social ideals. Christian society is founded on the principle of the brotherhood of man. The principle may be imperfectly realised, but it exists as an inspiring ideal in the Christian Church, and is recognised as an essential part of Christianity. The brotherhood of man is the correlative of the Fatherhood of God. But the system of Caste, which is one of the most characteristic institutions of Hinduism and the basis of Hindu society, is a direct denial of the brotherhood of man. The idea

that the Brahmin is the brother of the Pariah is contrary to the first principles of Hinduism, and abhorrent to the Hindu mind. Whatever enthusiasm there may be for brotherhood in the abstract, it stops short of the brotherhood of the Brahmin and the Pariah. Some years ago, when lecturing at Patna, in North India, before a large audience of educated Hindus, on this subject of the brotherhood of man, I spoke for about twenty minutes in such a way as to lead my audience to imagine that I was speaking of the relations between Europeans and the natives of India. My remarks were received with loud and continuous cheering. Then I suddenly applied the principle I had enunciated to the treatment of the Pariahs by the Brahmins—the rest of my speech was received in dead silence. To apply to Hindu society the principles of Christian brotherhood would mean a social revolution. And it is for this practical reason that the spread of Christianity in India is so bitterly opposed. The Western dress has little or nothing to do with it; the real ground of the opposition is the fundamental principle of the brotherhood of man. And on this point there ought to be no compromise. One of the main dangers that confronts Christianity (in South India, at any rate) in the immediate future consists in the tendency to substitute the spirit of Caste for the spirit of brotherhood as the basis of the Christian society. Any concession to that tendency would be fatal to the spiritual life of the Christian Church.

Then, again, as regards personal conduct, the life of the European missionary offends the moral taste of the orthodox Hindu, not because it is Western, but because it is Christian. The ideal of Christianity is the regeneration of human nature; the ideal of Hinduism is its destruction. The Incarnation has sanctified every part of man's being and every aspect of man's life, and has taught us that the life of the body, as well as the life of the soul, is a sacred thing. The practical ideal of the Christian is to use every faculty that he possesses for the glory of God and the welfare of his fellow-men. The ideal of the orthodox Hindu is to get rid of every faculty he possesses by withdrawing from the work of the world and losing himself in the Infinite.

A recent critic of Christian Missions in India says that the mode of life of the European missionary entirely fails to appeal to the ordinary educated Hindu. The fact, he remarks, that the European missionary plays tennis at the station club stamps him as unspiritual. But the truth is that his highest ideal of life—doing good, healing the sick, teaching the ignorant, succouring the oppressed, and befriending the outcast—is, to the Hindu, only a life of worldly activity. From a Hindu point of view it is of the earth, earthy. It may be attractive, but it is not religious or spiritual. The Hindu ideal of “a religious man” is the ancient *Rishi* who left home and the world and retired into the jungle to spend his days in meditation upon the Infinite; or the ascetic of modern days, who lives a life of self-inflicted torture, or smears his body with ashes, and lives by begging. To go about doing good, trying to improve the world we live in, forms no part of the Hindu conception of holiness, which does not even require that a holy man should be moral. The practical life of the English missionary, therefore, if it fails to appeal to the Hindu mind, fails primarily, not because it is English, but because it is Christian.

The demand, therefore, for an oriental Christ and an oriental form of Christianity, or for an Indian Christ and an Indian form of Christianity, seems to me unreal and mischievous. The conflict in India at the present day is between great principles of truth and falsehood, life and death, which are fundamentally opposed. The uniform they wear is a matter of comparatively small importance.

II.—But, in saying this, I do not mean to deny that in the future the Christianity of India will in many respects be different from the Christianity of England. In all the essentials of life and doctrine it will, of course, be the same. “The faith once for all delivered to the saints” does not vary when it is proclaimed in an Eastern land. There can be little doubt, however, that the Indian mind will tend to lay stress on aspects of the truth which the English mind tends to overlook, and, on the other hand, to neglect aspects of the truth which the practical English mind tends to emphasise. And it is certain that the special conditions of Indian life and character will have a great influence on

the application of the Christian faith to the life and worship of the Indian Church.

(1) In the first place the Indian mind will probably emphasise the philosophical aspects of the faith. Its whole interest in the past has been centred in religious philosophy. Politics, history, and science have had no attractions for it. The history of Indian literature is a history of religion and philosophy. Doubtless under the influence of Western education and civilisation other interests will be developed, but it is not likely that the intellectual habits of some three thousand years will be radically changed in the immediate future. The natural tendency of the Indian mind renders it more than probable that when the Indian Church develops a theological literature of its own, its main interest will lie in the philosophical principles which underlie the Christian faith. And it will certainly be a gain to the Church to have the Christian faith and the various problems which it raises looked at by Christian thinkers whose natural instincts will lead them to go back to first principles. The Western mind is more practical than speculative, and English people especially are much inclined to rest on traditional views of great questions, and content themselves with an intellectual compromise. Metaphysics are supremely distasteful to the ordinary Englishman, and, as a natural result, the problems of religious belief are looked at rather from a practical than a speculative point of view. We are inclined to think that *solvitur ambulando* is a sufficient answer to speculative difficulties. The Indian mind, on the other hand, will revel in the wealth of philosophic truth opened out by a belief in the Incarnation. A beginning has already been made. The philosophic works of Father Nehemiah Goreh, Dr. Krishna Mohun Banerji, and the Rev. R. C. Bose during the latter part of the last century may be regarded as the firstfruits of the special contribution which the Indian Church is destined to make to the thought of Christendom.

(2) Then, again, the past history of Indian social life is bound to have a great influence for good or for evil on the life and organisation of the Indian Church. The two special characteristics of the social life of India which

distinguish it from that of Western lands, are first the rigid Caste system, and secondly the solidarity of the family. Indian society is divided up, as is well known, into a large number of separate Castes, each of which forms a distinct body with its own habits and customs, its own rules and discipline, its own corporate life and organisation ; each, for instance, has its own marriage law, and any offence against this law is dealt with and punished by the Caste itself. The Caste is an *imperium in imperio* ; and many of the disputes between man and man, which in England would be brought before a court of law, are in India settled by the Caste. And so, too, each family forms a distinct unit, with its joint property and common life. When a young man begins to earn money, his earnings are a contribution to the family fund ; when he marries he continues to live in the family home—the family, not the individual, is the unit of society.

There are great evils both in the Caste system and the family life of India ; Caste, involving as it does the absolute separation of class from class, is opposed on principle to the idea of mankind as a brotherhood. It is inconsistent with the idea of the Church as the Family of God, the children of one Father in Heaven. And the present constitution of family life in India is a great hindrance to the growth of individual responsibility. A man lives and acts in India as the member of a family. His own individuality is merged in the common life to an extent which makes it difficult for him to think and act for himself. And as a natural result the Indian character as a rule is deficient in a sense of personal responsibility and the power of initiative. The habits of mind, therefore, engendered by Caste and family life in India will undoubtedly be an obstacle to the full and healthy development of the Christian character and life. But, on the other hand, they will enable Indian Christians to readily grasp the corporate aspect of Christianity which English people find it so hard to realise. The Indian Church is not likely to err, like the English Church, through an exaggerated individualism. And it is noticeable even now how strong the sense of corporate life and responsibility is in the village districts of India that are comparatively untouched

by English civilisation. In the Diocese of Madras, among the Telugu Christians, who are for the most part recent converts from the down-trodden Pariahs, we have a system of discipline, worked mainly by the people themselves, which would be quite impossible in England. If a Christian commits any offence against morality or Church order he is tried by a Panchayat, *i.e.*, a body of five: two of whom he chooses himself, one is chosen by his accuser, a fourth by the clergyman or catechist in charge of the congregation, who sits himself as president of the Panchayat. The evidence is taken down in writing and carefully recorded. If the offence is a small one, the Panchayat itself inflicts the penalty; if it is a serious one, the Panchayat records its opinion and then sends the records of the case up to a superior Court—called the Bishop's Local Council—which is elected by the people from amongst the communicants of the district. If the case does not merit excommunication, the Council deals with it itself; if it does, then it sends its report and recommendation to the Bishop, who pronounces sentence.

The system works well because it is simply an adaptation of the familiar institutions of the Caste system, and it is very seldom that anyone thinks of disputing the authority of the Panchayat. I had to deal with one case a little while ago which illustrated rather the strength than the weakness of the sense of corporate responsibility: a man in one of the villages was fined six annas (=6d.) about twelve years ago, for not attending church. He refused to pay the fine, and so remained for twelve years excluded from the pale of the Christian society of the village. At the end of the twelve years he gave way, and the village Panchayat then reported the case to me, and advised that the fine should be increased to one rupee (1s. 4d.), and that on payment he should be forgiven. If this system were in vogue in England, the Church Discipline Bill would assume rather a different form, and perhaps the House of Commons would not be anxious to deal with the subject. Church discipline in the village districts of India means a strict discipline over the laity as well as over the clergy.

And this deeper sense of corporate life is seen also in

the view which is most naturally taken of the Sacraments in India. Baptism and the Holy Communion are primarily regarded as means of corporate fellowship. They seem to be looked upon quite naturally and spontaneously as signs and pledges of our common membership in the one Body. The conception of them as means of grace to the individual needs to be taught, and is not so easy for the people to realise. But the corporate aspect of the Sacraments fits in at once with the ordinary ideas of the people. If one of our poor and uneducated converts were asked why he received the Holy Communion, and spoke out his mind in his own way, he would probably answer, "Because I belong to the Christian Caste." That would be his way of expressing the truth that the Sacraments are to him visible signs of his membership in the Christian Church. This is, of course, an imperfect and one-sided view of the Sacraments; at the same time, it is an important aspect of them, and one which is strangely overlooked by English Christians.

There is another way in which I think that the Caste system is likely to have a very powerful influence on the development of the Christian Church in India, and that is by compelling Indian Christians to face seriously the problem of unity. In India, owing to the prevalence of the Caste system for so many centuries, the forces that make for disunion are enormously strong. And the danger which threatens the Indian Church in the future is not simply that it may perpetuate the divisions of Western Christendom, but that it may add to them a hundredfold by splitting up into an infinite number of Caste Churches. The tendency towards disunion is strong enough in England and America, but it is counteracted there by the strong dislike of carrying out principles to their logical conclusion, and also by the political common-sense of the people. In India there is no political common-sense, and there is a natural tendency to carry principles to their logical conclusion; and then in addition there is the strong inherited antipathy to any intercourse between Caste and Caste. In some of the Roman Catholic Mission districts of South India I have seen in quite small villages two churches, one for the high-caste and one for the low-caste

Christians. And that indicates the rock ahead on which Indian Christianity may split into a thousand fragments.

It is often asked why we cannot be content simply to preach Christ to the people of India, and let alone questions of Church organisation and government, which have proved such a bone of contention in Western Christendom. The plea is a specious one, but I venture to think that it leaves out of sight this great danger of a new and more fatal tendency to division. The moral and spiritual progress of the Indian Church in the future will depend largely on its unity, and the problem how that unity can be secured and made effective, in view of the strong Caste feeling that permeates Indian society from top to bottom, is a matter of vital importance. At present members of different Castes are held together by European influence; but sooner or later the question must arise why different Castes should not have their own ecclesiastical organisation. It is quite certain that each Caste would vastly prefer to have a church to itself, if it could do so consistently with the essential principles of Christianity; and the Indian Church will be compelled, as soon as it attains independence, to face the question why this should not be done. And this necessity will at once bring to the fore the whole controversy as to the nature and constitution of the Christian Church. In England there is a strong tendency, even among Churchmen, to acquiesce in the existence of different bodies with separate organisations and distinct systems of government, and to aim at a "union of hearts" as the only kind of Church unity attainable or even desirable. And probably the popular theory of Church government among English people is that any body of Christians are at liberty to form themselves into a Church, appoint their own ministers, adopt their own organisation, and then take their place as an integral part of the Body of Christ. If this theory is adopted by the Christian community in India, separate Churches for the separate Castes will be the inevitable result. And then not only will the divisions be multiplied a hundredfold, but they will also be more completely stereotyped. In the West there is division tempered by a desire for unity and a sense of the duty of unity. The "Free Churches," while maintaining their right to division, earnestly desire that

the fact of their division should be no barrier in the way of brotherly love and fellowship in Christ. That will not be the case with the Caste churches, should they unhappily come into existence in India. Their aim will be to perpetuate the rigid exclusiveness of Caste ; the last thing they will desire is intercommunion among themselves. It is earnestly to be hoped, however, that the very gravity of this danger will compel the Indian Church to go behind the tradition of disunion which it has received from the West, and seriously study the subject of the unity of Christ's Body as one of vital importance to its own well-being. It will, at any rate, have the advantage of approaching the question free from the legacy of bitterness which centuries of conflict have bequeathed to the Christians of the West. In India there is a noticeable absence of bitterness in the relations of the native Christians belonging to different denominations, and a marked tendency to draw together and work together. It would be a happy consummation of the evils of Caste if they obliged the Indian Church to make some real and effective contribution to that problem of Church unity which now so sadly vexes the peace of the Churches of the West.

III.—As regards forms of worship, it is certain that the Indian Church will not in the future remain content with those which she has received from the West. At first it was inevitable that the infant Church in India should be under tutors and governors in matters of public worship. The vast majority of the Christian converts in India have been drawn from the ranks of Hinduism ; and Hinduism possesses nothing which at all compares with the public worship of the Christian Church. European missionaries have been obliged therefore to teach their congregations not only how to worship, but what worship means ; and the experiment of leaving them to develop their own forms of service by themselves would have been obviously absurd. Even now the attempts of native congregations to give an Indian colour to our Western modes of worship is not always successful. A few months ago I was visiting a well-known Mission-station in South India, where the people are encouraged to do things for themselves, and there is a well-instructed congregation with a vigorous life

of their own. As it was a great occasion, a brass band had been hired for the three days of our visit. On Sunday morning we went in a solemn procession, arranged by the missionary, from the Mission bungalow to the church, the choir in cassocks and surplices, headed by a processional cross, chanting a Tamil lyric. As we approached the church another procession met us, organised by the people themselves, the school-children with flags and banners, headed by the brass band playing vigorously "Two lovely black eyes"! This represented an Indian patch on the old garment of our English ceremonial. One felt that the liturgical sense needed a little more education before the people could be safely left to orientalise the ritual of the West.

But the provision of suitable forms of service for our Indian congregations is already a matter of practical politics. An Indian theology and the unity of the Indian Church are ideals of the future; but the reform of our services is a question that needs immediate attention. The English Prayer Book as it stands is very unsuitable for the use of rural congregations in India. In the first place, the services are too long. When translated into Tamil a prayer is about one-third longer than the English original. A little while ago I took part in a Tamil service, which consisted of the Litany, a confirmation—at which a dozen people were confirmed—and a celebration of the Holy Communion. The service lasted just three hours. Our Indian brethren are very patient and prodigal of time; but even for them a three hours' service on a hot morning is rather trying. To begin with, then, we need to shorten all our services considerably. As a rule it is only possible for the village people to come to church once on a Sunday, and then they ought to have everything that they need for their spiritual edification combined in one service: instruction, the reading of the Scriptures, confession, prayer, intercession, praise, and Holy Communion. They ought, in fact, to have all the various elements of public worship contained in Mattins, Litany, and the service for the Holy Communion, only in a much shorter form and without needless repetitions. Then in the second place the services are too difficult. Often the Sunday psalms and lessons for

Mattins and Evensong are quite unintelligible to a village congregation ; they might almost as well be read in Hebrew or Greek as in Tamil or Telugu. In the Diocese of Chhota Nagpur there has been in use for many years a selection of psalms and lessons of a much simpler character suited to the capacities of uneducated people ; a special psalm is appointed for each day in the week, and a special selection of psalms for each Sunday. These are taught in the schools, so that the Christians in the diocese can know by heart the whole or the greater part of the psalms used in public worship. And the lessons are carefully chosen, so as to be intelligible to people who are not biblical students. I very much hope that a system of this kind will soon be introduced all over India, and that the example set by Chhota Nagpur will soon be followed by other dioceses.

Then in the third place, the element of instruction needs greatly emphasising in our services. Even the more intelligible lessons need explaining to our village people. We have to provide at present for thousands of poor Christians drawn from the lowest strata of Hinduism, who need constant instruction in the simplest truths of Christianity. And this ought to be given at the one Sunday service, which the majority of them are able to attend, on Sunday morning. It would be a great advantage, I think, if instead of a sermon of the conventional type, which consists mainly of rather diffuse exhortations, each lesson could be explained and commented on immediately after it is read.

In changes of this kind there is nothing specially oriental ; but the necessity for them arises from the simple fact that the vast majority of our people are poor and uneducated. And for many years to come this is likely to be a characteristic feature of the Indian Church. It will be the Church of the poor, mainly composed of the tillers of the soil. England is a land of cities—India of villages. About 70 per cent. of the population of India are villagers, and it is in the villages, not in the towns, that Christianity in India has won its victories. The Church therefore in India has to make provision mainly for the poor, and it is their wants and requirements which should be mainly kept in view in the arrangements for public worship.

Happily in India we are not fettered by acts of uniformity, and are free from the distracting influence of ritual controversies. Whether the Indian Church will ultimately be more or less ritualistic than the Church in England remains to be seen. On the one hand, it is said that the Indian is a born ritualist, and that ritual naturally appeals to him. On the other hand, it is said that the ritual of Hinduism is to the more thoughtful Hindus a burden of meaningless ceremonies. My own experience of Indian congregations would lead me to think that at present the question of ritual is not one which interests them much one way or the other. The details of our Western ritual and symbolism do not seem to convey much impression to Indian villagers, though they are keenly alive to everything which adds to the solemnity and reverence of a service. What line, therefore, the Indian Church will take when left to develop its own ritual is very doubtful. Probably the reaction from the formal ritual of Hinduism will develop a strong dislike of anything like an elaborate ceremonial among a large section of the Indian Christians. But it is not likely that the rather cold and intellectual form of worship congenial to English people will ultimately commend itself to the more emotional peoples of India.

Meanwhile we need in these matters a great deal of elasticity and a liberal spirit of toleration.

It is very difficult for Europeans to know exactly what external forms will help and edify our Indian brethren. These are matters to which we may safely apply the maxim, *In dubiis libertas*.

HENRY MADRAS.

THE FACTORS WHICH SHAPE LIFE IN MANCHURIA.

CHINA herself is the most influential factor in the general life of Manchuria. The Chinese swarm has covered the province of Fengtien, is searching to the remotest corners of the province of Kirin, and has landed on the southern end of the almost peopleless prairies of the province of Tsitsihar. There are Manchu colonies, sometimes extensive, to be found; but they are islands in a sea of Chinese population, and this sea has lapped its way through and through such islands. Manchu yranies are dying out, and Manchu privileges waning. The Chinese official is seating himself, supported by the force of the changing conditions, alongside of the Manchu chief as equal in rank. Manchu villages must adopt Chinese principles and standards—that is, be as calculating, as strenuous, and as thrifty—or find that lands and houses are drifting steadily into the possession of the more efficient race. One who knows rubs his eyes when he reads of Moukden as a sacred city and home of the dynasty; for the predominating partner is China, and the vanquished have quietly, in the course of 200 years, conquered the land of their victors. Business, law-suits, social converse, are carried on in the language of the man whose ancestors were forced to wear pig-tails as a sign of submission, or forfeit life. The energy which keeps in touch with lonely hunters in the forests of the eastern hills, prepares the furs in Moukden and sells them in Tientsin, is Chinese. The banking-house which will give in Tsitsihar a draft on Shanghai is Chinese. The chief writer in every court-house is from Shaoshing in central China, whence from Chinese families come the lawyers of the Empire. It

would be hard to prove, even in conservative Manchu townships, that their religion is the pure and intense Buddhism with which their ancestors marched beyond the Great Wall even unto Burma. Manchuria, in short, is an integral part of China, except in the eyes of politicians; and he who is possessed of Manchuria has to deal with the pervasive and tireless spirit of Chinamen.

Native life in Manchuria has been braced by the room for expansion which is there to be found. 'The Manchu horde having in the days of our own Civil War left Manchuria void and passed south-west to enjoy the fat things of China, the Chinese millions began to insert themselves into the rich agricultural lands stretching almost a thousand miles beyond the Great Wall, and which now, for want of better owners, were being overrun by forests. Poverty, greed, adventure impelled a steady stream of immigrants, coming on foot or on beasts, by wheel-barrow or by junk, latterly by steamer, or even by train; they continued coming for two centuries; and once having started they were apparently willing to move far, and never reverted to the system of frequent and teeming villages which has tyrannised their fatherland from time immemorial. With the new acres extending before him the fields of the dear old patrimony must have seemed by comparison very plots in a market-garden. Yet the old tyranny retains its glamour (saving always that of ready cash), a glamour so real that the man loves to recall the times Within the Wall, when he chats or dreams, above all, when he is stirred by grief and disappointment; and if fortune—which, however, generally proves all too fickle—favour him, he means to return with wife and children to the narrow horizon and the elbowing crowds. For he has lost, as he is fully conscious, some things which money cannot buy him. He is separated, *e.g.*, from the sympathy and secular aid of his family and his clan; his neighbour and he have only in common the cold, almost valueless, factor of propinquity. He must fight his own fight with the rigours of nature and the cruelty of man, whether that man come under or in defiance of authority. Further, he is aware that he and his family are losing the politeness and refinements of the Flowery Land. "This is a mixed land from the five compass-

points," he moans, "and knows no custom." Indeed, were he not the unchangeable Chinaman, you feel that he might lapse into the style of living and of manners of the Buriat or the Fish-skin Tartar.

This, then, is the condition and attitude of the average Manchurian colonist: he has loneliness,¹ a thing he dislikes, and he has comparative freedom, a freedom which he does not know how to use, and which will not leave him as it finds him, but will either undo him or make him. These two substantives, *loneliness* and *liberty*, give some distinctiveness to the Manchurian Chinese, and are potential factors in his life. The liberty of the Chinese immigrant to Manchuria seems actually to spoil for him many of the amenities of his life, though it ought to afford scope for the training and development of his intelligence. But his loneliness is the matter which occupies all the thoughts which he can spare from his crops and his animals. He feels round him for a social bond which will link him to his law-loving fellows, and link them all to virtue. This link he finds in one of the religious sects, which in various forms, and under various names, abound in Manchuria. One well-known sect binds its members only to teetotalism and non-smoking. The members of other sects meet for worship in the evenings, sing hymns, and read prayers. Some sects specially inculcate asceticism and mysticism. All elect teachers, giving them diplomas, and sometimes even salaries. When they come with annoying frequency in a corporate fashion before the officials to support their members or partisans, or when, as not rarely happens, they rise fanatically against oppression in high quarters, they are hunted, seized, tortured, and executed by the authorities. On the other hand, in the year 1900 the Government, preparing for the Boxer movement, lent its sanction and influence to the adherents of these sects. But the point to be noticed is that the wider ground and more isolated life in which the man of Manchuria lives leads him to a road whose first stage is love of combination, whose second is union with a religious sect, and whose third is improvement of moral tone and appreciation of the study of the soul.

¹ Of course this condition changes the further south one goes, for the nearer one draws to the Great Wall the more closely does life resemble its normal Chinese type.

The Christian Church is a leaven which has been added to this new mass of Chinese life. To twenty or more millions of people have come less than fifty missionaries from Ireland, Scotland, and Denmark. No more than with the eighteen provinces of China proper was this mass of humanity likely to prove susceptible to the influence of the new leaven, for the Manchurian, like other Chinamen, has an inborn fanatical dislike to the foreigner who treads on his soil, and shares with his brethren of the Celestial Kingdom an antipathy towards the uncouth garments, "devil" (*i.e.* white) faces, "high" noses, halting, stammering tongues, ignorance of the manners suited to long sleeves and skirts, and powers suspiciously near magic, which characterise "the men from the sea." He inherits, too, the overweening and rock-fast conceit which considers the Chinaman to be, without even the necessity for dispute or proof, the man of highest human dignity and worth. He still retains his love for the endless entanglements of literary diction and moral platitude. He shares with his race the absolute conviction that when all is said and done the missionary is a spy and decoy in pay of the country whence he has emanated. However, the roll of 20,000 converts which exists after only thirty years of labour is sufficient proof that, despite all the difficulties which exist in Manchuria, there is nevertheless an open door there for Christian evangelisation, and one which is more widely open than in any other part of the world which is given over to yellow faces and pig-tails. The characteristic of the Manchurian which has chiefly helped to gain these numerous conversions is loneliness, which inclines him to look for some powerful combination or sect. To the dismay of the ambassador of the Cross, Manchurian eyes see in him on his arrival not a sign of peace and goodwill but of power. He is welcome, if at all, not because the Kingdom of Heaven, but because the kingdom of Great Britain or France, is behind him. Within a month of his arrival the missionary will have hundreds—if he likes their style and motive—of followers, and within half a year may number his adherents by thousands. They do not love him ; they believe he must

be a fool, because he is apparently so easily hoodwinked ; they laugh at him behind his back ; they hide their actual life sedulously from him ; but they provide him with lands and houses—if he will take them ; they learn his name and a few pass-words of his creed, and hide behind his five-inch long red visiting card, which will reduce to reason or abject submission anyone from the magistrate on his seat to the dirtiest creature who carries a summons or the wildest brave who spreads a uniform on his person. It is not to gain loaves and fishes that the Manchurian is tempted to accept the patronage of the missionary, but to retain the loaves and fishes already obtained by his own work and stored within his compound walls. Native Christians, whom revelation from the Father in heaven has taught to say, "Thou art Christ the Son of the Living God," admit that the dictates of flesh and blood were the first to cause them to approach us, and declare that nine-tenths of those who finally enter the Church were initially attracted by its political prestige and not by its doctrines. I need not throw stones at the Roman Catholic Church, which has worked in Manchuria five times as long as we have and has ten times our numerical strength ; for while I think it very far from careful about the characters and objects of the men it permits within its environs, our house might be found, when retaliatory stones returned, to be more largely composed of glass than was seemly. But we protestant missionaries are unceasingly anxious to protect our Church's frontiers. We are educating our agents in the importance of ignoring, even for philanthropic uses, the prestige which still clings to us. Rules have been formed to narrow the door of Church entrance. Moreover, all in authority throughout the land have been urged to note that the name of the missionary or of his Church has nothing to do with civil or military processes ; we do this because experience has taught us that, while a different course of action would bring the glory of vast accessions, it would also fog the spiritual outlook of the native Church and seriously lower its moral tone. As a result of the line of action which we have adopted we should lose at once the groups of oppressed people who are driven by sad

compulsion to seek us, were it not that the loneliness of the average well-living man by leading him to join a sect whose basis is religious and whose passwords and conversation are cast in a religious mould, and whose hope is emancipation from the world, the flesh, and the devil, has afforded other and nobler grounds on which to appeal to him. Thus, while refusing the request of representatives of some village, it is possible to retain their interest by reciting "I say unto you, Love your enemies."

They may have come prepared only to take down the picture of the kitchen-god from above the large cooking-pot until the next New Year's Day, and exhibit meantime or till further notice the sign of the Cross or a Christian almanac, yet when the first few verses of St. John's Gospel have been read curiosity and reverence at once lay hold of them, for they hear their own phraseology from the books of the despised foreigner, and prejudice receives its first blow as they learn that *his* mind too has been exercised by the great speculations. Again, their own experience and observation have confirmed in them the breadth of mind and heart suggested by their oft-quoted phrase "men men yu tao, tao tao yu men," *i.e.*, every sect has its doctrine, every doctrine has its sect,¹ so that, while they may return home feeling that the might of the foreign power's arm is not so easily obtained as they had thought, their precedent tolerant spirit enables them to extend a brotherly hand to, and say a friendly word for, the "sect of Jesus." Merit has long been a vital demand, and has been sought by fasting or meditation or in kowtowing till the skin of the forehead has been broken. Thinkers on such subjects cannot leave the Christian Chapel without seed thoughts having been implanted and the question started whether merit be acquirable by any man and be not a quality of God alone or of the Lamb offered for the sin of the world. When their trouble is over and their disappointment has died down, they will steal back singly and quietly to debate and to learn, and

¹ Literally translated it runs, every gate has a path, every path has a gate. Probably, in its original conception, the first clause asserted the universality, and therefore the truth, of the religious and moral consciousness; and the second asserted the need for a school, sect, or gate from which its development should start.

within two years the missionary's report will bear the statement that he has visited a new part and baptized a few with their families, a nucleus for a Church with a known name five years thereafter. All very simple it sounds. Yes, indeed, comparatively simple. The man has generally but his wife to consult ; and if she agree with him the case is settled. Where is the dread of departed ancestors ? Where is the offence against the whole clan ? Where is the boycotting which is as death ? Where is the leaving of houses and brethren and sisters and father and mother and children and lands ? These are weak giants, palsied on the day on which he or his father left the old conservative home with its cast-iron "custom," and they have won back little health in the air of the new country of Manchuria. The new land is not thickly studded with temples large and small, nor is individual and family history linked through various fortunes and many mutual services with the spirits which influence the unfamiliar air and soil. As the Chinaman in Manchuria has freedom to make himself a new earth, he has freedom also to adopt a new heaven, and, if he himself is willing, there is little to deter him taking his spiritual needs to the teacher of Christianity, saving only the shame of being called a "secondary devil."

Other influences have been exerted which will affect the future of Manchurian life whether for good or evil. Both the Russians and the Japanese have already exerted influence ; and in this present war they are each fighting for sole domination in this hopeful land. The Japanese were the first "rebels" to convince the Chinese that they were not, after all, earth's "Middle Kingdom." The shock was great, and in the moment of disillusionment, while eyes gaped at the new portent, the Japanese showed a spirit of gentleness, courtesy, and generosity which has not merely gained for them first place in Manchurian affections, but has elevated the common notion of the morale of outside kingdoms. The Russians have poured a flood of money into Manchuria, which was tending to raise the standard of living, develop ambition, and promote energy. The railway, despite its irregularities, was weaning the native mind to Western methods and to a quicker tramp in business.

But it cannot be said that advantage has been taken of the door to the native hearts left open by the Japanese: Russian centres have not yet breathed out reconciliation and enlightenment. It is well known that the Manchurian hates the Slav whole-heartedly, and, recking of no future consequences, is clamant for the return of the men of the Rising Sun. As for us missionaries, we ask nothing else than that that power win in the present struggle which will promote and not stunt the liberty which is the note of Manchuria and the best hope of its people.

DANIEL T. ROBERTSON.

CHRISTIAN VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE PUNJAB.

Few people know how greatly the number of native Christians has increased in the Punjab during the last quarter of a century. The following census figures show the facts :

1881	.	.	.	.	3,912
1891	.	.	.	.	19,750
1901	.	.	.	.	38,513

The native Christians in the Province are now more numerous than the Europeans and Eurasians.

The districts which contain the largest numbers are the Sialkot and the Chenab Colony. The former is strong in Missions. The Church Missionary Society, two Presbyterian Missions (Church of Scotland and American United Presbyterian), and the Roman Catholics are all at work in it. The Chenab Colony is a newly occupied tract. It consists of a large area of Crown land recently brought under the irrigation of the Chenab Canal. This great canal waters about two million acres a year. Colonists have been settled here from the congested districts of the Punjab, and have been accompanied thither by great numbers of farm labourers, artisans, &c. The great majority of native Christians are of the farm-labourer class, and many have migrated to the Chenab Colony for a living. The census of 1901 showed a population of 8,617 Christians in the colony, which is an average of 110 for every 10,000 of the total population.

It may interest the readers of this review to have a brief account of the Christian village settlements in the Chenab Colony. But before dealing with them, mention must first be made of the village of Clarkabad, near

Lahore. It originated in a grant of land given by the Government, at the request of the Rev. Robert Clark (the veteran Church missionary who lately passed away), to four native Christian gentlemen in 1868, on condition that the land was to be a *bond fide* Christian settlement. It had a bad beginning. Native Christians were then few in number, and the lessees were non-resident. Later the Rev. R. Bateman, another well-known Punjab missionary, came to the rescue, the grant was transferred to the Church Missionary Society, and the settlement became by degrees a Christian village. But even ten years ago it was found that less than half the land was under the cultivation of Christians, who were paying only half the rates of rent demanded from the non-Christian tenants. About that time the lay members of the Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. began to take a special interest in the place (notably Mr. J. R. Machonachie, of the India Civil Service), and further improvements have been made. At the present time every acre of land is under Christian tenants, who pay full rents. The whole area is some 2,000 acres, of which 1,600 acres are under cultivation. The village contains 1,500 inhabitants, of whom two-thirds are Christians. There is a good church capable of accommodating 600, a hospital, and schools for boys and girls. An outlying hamlet in a separate block also has its own little church and its day-schools. The non-Christian residents are the shopkeepers, artisans, and farm labourers. It is the aim of the management by degrees to make the village exclusively Christian, so that the shops may be kept and all labour done by Christians only. It may seem strange that, since the tenants are converts from the ~~farm labourers~~ class, there should be any need for non-Christians for the work. But we have to remember the force of ~~custom~~ in the country. When a man has land of his own he always hires the low class man, called Chúhra, to do the ~~work~~ work. For some years there has been a movement on the part of the Chúhras to raise themselves in the ~~social scale~~ ~~social scale~~. Some have become Mohammedans, and are called ~~M. S.~~ others have adopted the Sikh religion and are called Mazhabi Sikh. In both cases they are ~~admitted to the~~ risen above their Chúhra brethren. ~~Now we have~~

Christian Chúhra, who looks upon himself as a better man than the non-Christian. So when he gets a bit of land of his own he considers himself entitled to follow the custom of the country and to get Chúhras to do the menial work of his farm.

The year 1892 saw the beginning of the Christian settlements in the Chenab Colony. The Roman Catholics then founded the village of Maryabad on a piece of land bought at an auction of Crown waste. After this came in order of time the two villages (Montgomerywala and Isanagri) of the C.M.S., Kot Isaian, a joint village of the two Presbyterian Missions, and Khushpur, another Roman Catholic village. In Maryabad, as in Clarkabad, the land belongs to the Mission, and the settlers are tenants at will. In the other colony villages the settlers are Crown tenants, who obtain fixity of tenure after a brief probationary period. Here the control of the Superintending Missionary is much less than in Clarkabad and Maryabad ; but in these villages also there are varying degrees of control, as will be seen from the note by the Colonisation Officer, given below. This officer (Mr. L. French) has been good enough to give me his opinion regarding the Christian settlements. He says :—

“ As regards agriculture the people are doing uniformly well. They are, after all, drawn from those classes who do the hard agricultural work all over the Punjab. There is no doubt that from the purely colonist point of view the settlements have been a success. A good deal of this success is due to the fostering care of the missionaries, whose practical advice to the colonists has been undeniably valuable. By their authority they have been able to keep factions under. There is a difference in the methods of internal administration adopted by the Missions. The Roman Catholics like very much to interfere in all social matters. They would like to have their body thoroughly disciplined, as might be expected. In the early days of Khushpur—two or three years ago—they, I remember, constantly requested that certain colonists convicted of offences against the moral law should be evicted. This request had to be refused.

“ The C.M.S. have sought more to guide than to rule. The Scottish Missions (I include in this the American) have interfered still less.

“ The Christian colonists are inclined, without supervision, to be a trifle insanitary ; but not more so than other colonists.

The C.M.S. are more particular in this respect than the other Missions.

"On the whole, however, I have nothing to complain about in this respect ; and generally it may be said that these Christian settlers from an administrative point of view compare very favourably with any other class of colonist.

"They appear to have very little violent jealousy ; and I would rather have fifty Christian villages to deal with than five of Mazhabi military settlers."

This is valuable testimony from the Government Officer in charge of this large colony. It is especially good to hear of little quarrelling. For these colonists have come together from all directions, with no previous connection or relationship to each other.

I will now quote what the missionaries have written. The Rev. E. Rhodes, of the C.M.S., says :—

"The people have done much and are doing a great deal to help themselves. In Montgomerywala we have the largest protestant Church in the Punjab. On Sunday mornings the congregation numbers over six hundred people, communicants over one hundred, and at the daily services morning and evening from fifty to seventy people, chiefly men, attend. The people contributed well towards the fabric, and by offertories and fees support it. There are two schools, one for boys and the other for girls, partly supported by the people. They have built a Rest House for travellers without asking for one anna of outside help.

"Isanagri is not so forward. There is no church and no proper school house, although we have schools for boys and girls. A church is contemplated. I have Rs. 550 in hand, and two months ago I called a meeting of the villagers, and I told them I thought something should be done. I said we are building our own houses, but we are not doing anything for God's House. I asked them what they were willing to give, and in the open-air meeting promises were made from men (who are poor, as settling in a new colony is not an inexpensive undertaking) from one rupee to Rs. 15, so that in about fifteen minutes over Rs. 150 were promised in cash, and men who had no money promised free labour brick-making. In this village we have in the open air a congregation numbering about 400 people, with about sixty communicants.

"At Sikanderabad, Mr. Broadway's village,¹ the people have built a square building for a church which cost Rs. 400 ; all the money was given by the people themselves.

¹ Mr. Alex. Broadway, an English colonist, employs only Christian tenants in his village.

"In our Bar¹ work I think one of the most encouraging features is the willingness of the people to help themselves. I have been a missionary for seventeen years, and I have been connected with some of our central and oldest Missions, yet these poor cultivators would put most of them to shame. They do give of their substance religiously to God. Whatever a person possesses of that he or she gives. Rice, Indian corn, wheat, flour, oats, ghi, butter, a kid of the goats, and pice² all find their way to the church and come to the offertory, the collecting of which is by no means an easy task. I have noticed coolies receiving four annas a day give two annas in the offertory on Sunday."

The following is from the Rev. Dr. Youngson, of the Church of Scotland Mission :—

"The year in which the Christians from Sialkot district settled in the canal was a year of famine, 1899, when food for their cattle was dear. Fodder was sold at very high prices in the neighbourhood of the colony, and they had to go to very far villages for a supply. This dearness of food made it necessary for them to eke out a livelihood by doing coolies' work on the canal. They set to with a will, repairing the banks of the canal by day, and cutting down the trees on the settlement by night. In a month or so the jungle was cleared and seed sown.

"The village well has been built at a cost of Rs. 1,000. Trees are being planted in all the thoroughfares. The foundation of the church building has been laid, and the farmers have agreed to give in three instalments a total sum of about Rs. 2,000 for the edifice. The schoolmaster's pay comes from the Sunday collections, and from a tax of Rs. 2 a year imposed by the farmers on each square (about 27 acres) of land. The school will become an aided school at an early date, earning like other schools of the same class a Government education grant. The Post Office is now an established institution in charge of the schoolmaster. It is a comfort to be able to say that our people are not addicted to drinking. Drunkenness is unknown in the village. With farmers and farm labourers the community numbers about 1,000 persons. To teach and control these has been a considerable task to those in charge. Prosperity had the tendency to produce pride and love of ostentation. They sought to emulate their richer neighbours, and the money-lender was not slow to take advantage of this. I have no doubt that debt is the worst evil with which they will have to contend.

"On the whole, reviewing their condition, we have no reason to be dissatisfied. They are a strong, healthy community, cultivating

¹ Bar is the name of the colonised tract.

² Pice is a small copper coin.

their own land. They are ready to be led in religious matters, and second the efforts of their elders."

The other half of the Presbyterian village is occupied by men of the American Mission. The Rev. T. E. Holliday, of this Mission, writes an equally encouraging account of the energy and self-help of the colonists. He says :—

"During the first year of the life of the village the people were organised into a congregation with a native governing body from themselves, and they called their own pastor, and have from the beginning supported him wholly themselves. Not a pice of Mission money has been paid him. The regular Sabbath services and week-day prayer-meeting have been kept up so that I think we can truly say that the religious state of the village has been very good. The shops are all closed on Sabbath-day, and it is very generally observed as a day of rest and worship. Our Corresponding Secretary from America last November visited specimen villages where our Christians live in other parts of the Punjab and afterwards Martinique.¹ He noted, among other differences for the good, that even the dogs of Martinique had a better look."

The Roman Catholics have made Maryabad (their first village where the tenants held under the Mission) the training ground for Khushpur. The best tenants were given land in Khushpur, and the priest in charge writes that prospects here are very encouraging. Each village has its church and its schools.

Enough has been written to show that these communities are exhibiting very real Christian virtues. They have shown themselves ready and willing to build their own churches and schools, and to support their own pastors; and their church attendance and the number of regular communicants would put to shame most of our English churches; and these people are of the despised of the land. They belong to a race that has been down-trodden for generations. It is a common remark that Christian Missions in India have only been successful among the lowest castes. But has it not been ever thus in the beginnings of the Christian Church?

J. A. L. MONTGOMERY.

¹ The name given to the American part of the village, as Youngsonabad is to the Scotch part.

TWO FRENCH VIEWS OF INDIA.¹

THE subject which in a moment of perhaps unwise enthusiasm I chose many months ago, and which I am venturing to thrust upon you, is the subject of India as it is represented to us by two distinguished French authors who have recently written about it. I was attracted to the subject because I cannot help feeling that we Englishmen realise very imperfectly what an extraordinary responsibility and opportunity has fallen to us in the fact that we are the masters of those 300 millions of the peoples of India, with all their variety of race and character and religion. We came into the possession of India without in the slightest degree intending to possess it. We went there merely as merchants and adventurers, and yet by a course of events which, if there is a providence in history, was undisputably providential, we found ourselves the masters and possessors of India, responsible for its being and its education and its development. Now, our great men (and I am thankful to think that nowhere have there been more truly great men than among Anglo-Indians), our Lawrences, our Freres, our multitudes of educated missionaries and civil servants, have all felt the weight of this responsibility. But of course it is notorious, to judge only for example by the scene in Parliament when Indian affairs are being discussed, that by far the greater majority of us have not felt this responsibility, or at least it has been very imperfectly realised by most of us. We as a nation know very little about India, and I am afraid that it may be said that we care less. We know, I suppose, that there is a good deal for which we Englishmen must be profoundly thankful in our relation towards these millions. I speak of the liberty of our administration, the

¹ A lecture delivered at the Midland Institute, Birmingham, on November 7, specially revised by the Bishop of Worcester for THE EAST AND THE WEST.

justice of our law courts, the high level of the civilisation which we have brought to India, our railways, our telegraph system, our science, and our education. On these things of which we quite legitimately boast there are, I think, two blots. The first is that the justice of our administration is tempered with an extraordinary and unconcealed contempt for those who have come beneath our control. I have been myself only a year in India, but I feel, and I have no doubt that all of you who have been there too feel, that all our justice and all our desire to be fair in our administration has never succeeded in concealing this profound contempt. The second blot is that we have not succeeded in providing against the terrible famines which from time to time devastate the country.

But there is another grave defect in our common attitude towards India: we have not, I think, in the elaborate civilisation that we have helped to build up, sufficiently realised the awful responsibility of it all. Mankind cannot live on railways and telegraph wires and mere administrative systems alone. The real question is, what is happening deep down in the very heart and soul of India, in that realm where consciousness exists? What is happening to those vast multitudes deep down in the inner intellect and thought of India? Well now, it is instructive to look at these things sometimes through other spectacles, and it so happened that four or five months ago I was put into the way of two French books about India. I thought that I might therefore occupy your attention with a consideration of these books for a short time this evening.

The first of these books is by a distinguished French novelist who writes in a style altogether charming and delightful—M. Pierre Loti—and he calls his book by the somewhat suggestive title of “India without the English.”¹ Pierre Loti was sent to India to confer a personal decoration upon the Maharajah of Travancore from some French literary society, and as he was being sent to India he very wisely took the opportunity of making a journey through the length and breadth of the country. As I have said, he styles his book “India without the English,” and that is the remarkable feature of it. His work is dedicated “to Presi-

¹ Pierre Loti: *L'Inde (sans les Anglais)*. (Calman Lévy, Paris.)

dent Kruger and the Boer heroes of the Transvaal," which I suppose may account for some of the side glances he bestows upon the English, and it is true that he is deeply interested in Mrs. Besant and her school. But with the exception of these allusions he manages to travel through the whole length and breadth of India without any kind of reference to England or the English, and without apparently noticing our presence there at all—a very remarkable literary feat! He writes in a style altogether delightful, and I do not think that I have ever read any more beautiful descriptions of Indian scenery than those which are to be found in these pages. Much that he says about India is most true, and of course what he implies in his title is a most striking fact to all who have ever been to India. You may travel for days and days, and apart from the great centres of government—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and the hill stations—you hardly see any marks of British occupation at all. We are a mere handful of men among these multitudes. Pierre Loti sees and is appealed to by the picturesque melancholy of India. But he had a personal motive in going thither. He went as a sceptic who had become disillusioned of the glamour of Western civilisation and the Christian faith: and he thought he might find some renewed hope in the ancient religions and revelations of India. He records his disappointment. He sees a great deal of the native religions and finds them as repulsive as picturesque. He visits the Theosophists at Madras, native and European. He visits them with a fresh hope that here at least he will find, translated into something that he can understand, what he still hopes to find in India. But he finds them chilly, hopeless, unappealing.

"'May not,' he asks, 'I find some mystic powers among the fakirs?' 'Fakirs?' was the reply, 'Fakirs? There are no more fakirs.' Was there no hope for him then? 'Not at Benares even?' I said; 'I had hoped, I had been told, that at Benares'
I hesitated to speak the name Benares, for it was to play my last card. 'Let us understand one another,' he replied; 'Mendicant fakirs there are in numbers, insensitive or contortionist: you can find them for yourself. But seers—fakirs with powers—I have known the last of them. Believe me, they used to exist. But the 19th century saw the end of them. The ancient fakir spirit is

dead. We are a race in decline, in contact with the more materially active races of the West, who again will decline in their turn.' "

So he finds his hopes unanswered and comes away very disheartened. Yet after a time he makes his way towards Benares, and there he finds in Mrs. Besant at least some refuge and resource for his spirit. Mrs. Besant has, as you know, established a school there for reviving what she believes to be the spirit of the ancient thought and religion of India. So Pierre Loti comes to her and talks to her and is entertained by her, and he begins to learn through her education that he must extinguish in himself all the desires of his individuality, all the desires of separate existence, that he must annihilate his personality and personal striving, and then and only then may reach, by absorption in the impersonal infinite, the repose which he sought.

Now there is a certain value in the kind of thought with which this book is concerned, for we in England are not easily given to the contemplation of principle. We have heard a good deal in our time, largely through the name of Mrs. Besant, of the value of Indian thought and what may be gained from it. In England this idea has chiefly come to us in a form which it is especially easy for us to glide into—that when once you get down to the bottom, to the heart of everything, you get rid of all the differences and contrarieties of the various forms of religion. Now there Pierre Loti is useful, because what he says is true. He says that this is not so, that the deeper you go down the greater do these fundamental differences become. That deep down in the philosophical heart of things, in the region of first principles and primary foundations, there is a difference and a contrast which is absolute. There is a gulf fixed between that kind of thought and civilisation and religion which affirms the value of individuality, the worth of effort—which affirms the personality in man and so in God—and that civilisation and religion which regards the will to live, the individuality of man, the persistent striving of humanity to assert itself, as an illusion, a mistake, and a source of evil. Down in the heart of things is this irreconcilable difference, this contrast of principle which cannot be adjusted.

Our popular English idea that there is very little connection between civilisation and abstract ideas is a fundamental mistake. Look at civilisation broadly. If you take an individual at a particular moment it is true that there appears to be a considerable difference between his principles and his conduct. But down at the very bottom there is an extraordinary and indissoluble connection, and you see it clearly in looking back on the long reaches of history. There appears to be in the long reaches of history a real and moreover a necessary cohesion between what a nation does and what a nation believes about God—its fundamental conception of things. Mohammedan civilisation, Buddhist civilisation, Hindu civilisation, and Christian civilisation—these rest upon fundamentally different conceptions, and this in spite of the extraordinary inconsequence which people as individuals manifest between their religion and their actions. There in the larger area of history you see clearly the logical consequence and the perfect cohesion between what a nation believes about the essentiality of things and what their civilisation turns out to be.

Now our whole English civilisation, our whole idea of the reality of the world and the rationality of the universe, our whole conception of progress, is rooted in the thought that personality, the efforts of individuality, the desire and the will to live, is a good and not a bad thing. Hindu civilisation is rooted on an exactly contrary idea—the conception that the world and all its visible phenomena and all human life is one great illusion which has to be got rid of at all cost, and behind which there is the one impersonal reality.

Well then, at the bottom the Christian idea and the Hindu idea are quite contrary. Pierre Loti, I fancy, is a philosopher in seeing this. But the majority of us do not realise this. We often hear our cousins and brothers who have gone out to India or Africa, or some country where people's skins are of a different colour to our own, say when they come home, and are asked about missions, "Oh, those niggers (what a comprehensive term the word 'nigger' is!), they get on best in their own religion." Well now, I am not at present arguing that this is not quite true. But this I am saying—and I say it with absolute conviction of

its truth—if they get on best in their own religion, the only way to leave them to their religion is for us to decamp, bag, baggage, and all, and take with us all our science and our government, all our education and our civilisation. There is nothing in the world more certain than that by our very presence in India or in Africa we are inevitably, slowly or rapidly, according to the degree of elaborateness or cohesion which the other systems have, destroying both the structure of the civilisation and the religion that we find in any of these countries—the very idea and the faith which lie at the root of their civilisations. We cannot help it. We do it without intending to do it.

Take for example the system of caste. Hindu civilisation expresses itself in castes, but everybody knows that by our presence in India we are continually destroying the system of caste. We cram them all, highest and lowest castes, into the same tramcar, the same railway carriage. We send them all in for the same examination, and the Brahmin descended from the gods fails, while the pariah passes with honours. By our mere presence there, with our ideas of liberty and equality, with our education, with our business and civilisation, with all our inevitable democratic combinations, we slowly but surely destroy caste.

Or again, take the case of their legends, those legends of creation or of old India which you can hardly call very coherent history. We destroy them all by our first manuals of science. Yet these things are really only on the surface. Go back to the bottom of all, to the essential contrariety of idea. Our whole civilisation, our whole science, is based upon the reality of this visible world, and upon the belief that the desire to live, the will to be, the affirmation of personality in which the individual and the corporate life of the nation is expressed, is a supreme good; and it is this which marks the fundamental contrariety between our own and the Indian conception, which by our presence in India we must destroy. I do not wish to turn this into a missionary meeting, nor have I any intention of so doing. You will find what I have said quite as strongly expressed by Sir Alfred Lyall, and by many others, who do not believe in the final triumph of Christianity. It is this particular point that I want to emphasise—this funda-

mental contrariety of idea between all forms of Hindu thought and that which lies at the root of all our Western civilisation. The process of reconstructing India on ancient Hindu ideas can only be accomplished in the way Pierre Loti implies—"India without the English." If, on the other hand, England stays in India it must be because England believes that she has the power of reconstructing India from the foundation: that the ideas which lie at the root of our civilisation are capable of transforming her; and it is this fact which I feel we English do not half sufficiently realise. It is very essential that we should do so.

This brings me to the second book to which I have referred, "The Evolution of Indian Civilisation," by the Marquis de la Mazelière.¹ It is a much more considerable book. For one thing it is in two volumes instead of one, and it is printed so much more closely than the other book that it is impossible to read it in the obscure light of the average railway carriage. It is a very serious work, but it possesses that delightful and admirable method which belongs to all that is good in the French language. Mazelière's work is in fact an extraordinarily systematic and thorough account of India from the earliest days right up to the present time. It is peculiarly universal in its detail. It gives a most lucid and intelligible account of Indian production and commerce. It was recommended to me by someone of experience in the India Office as being the very best book on India. And though by far the greater bulk of it is occupied by financial and commercial facts, yet Mazelière proves himself to be a philosopher. He sees, what I fancy is the radical defect of most Englishmen not to see, that you cannot separate institutions from ideas. He sees what is happening right down in the very soul of India. He would agree with what all thoughtful people would admit, I think, that by our presence in India we are destroying all that has been in history most characteristic of India in civilisation, in religion and in idea. Mazelière sees and knows that we are taking the heart out of all that they had thought was most distinctly theirs, so that some of the most thoughtful Indians make

¹ Marquis de la Mazelière: *Essai sur l'Évolution de la Civilisation Indienne*. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1903.)

very light of Mrs. Besant's efforts to revive ancient Hindu thought, and contemplate her efforts with perfect apathy. Mazelière is very just and is on the whole favourable to English rule, though he sees our failures. He sees the force of our English ideas and institutions; and he sees that our rule is acting irresistibly, like a solvent, gradually disintegrating and destroying the structure and foundations of Indian life.

The question then arises, are Western ideas and Western civilisation and Western religion, that is the Christian religion, going to convert India and hold it for their own? Mazelière reaches the conclusion that they are not; that it is impossible to convert India to Christianity. He fancies that there will arise in course of time a sort of synthesis, a combination of ideas, and so perhaps a new civilisation, a new religion, of the nature of which we do not as yet dream. Well, with regard to that I am going to say three things.

First of all, I notice in this book what I notice about almost all books written from an external or indifferentist point of view as to religion, that the author has an extremely imperfect acquaintance with facts relating to the progress of Christianity in quite recent times. For example, though there are an immense number of statistics in his book, he has never fallen across the fact that came into great prominence at the last Indian census—the extraordinary relative advance of Christianity compared to that of any other religion—a fact that caused some astonishment among the statesmen of India, and was announced in a telegram in the *Times*.

And then, secondly, I think he has inadequately perceived the remarkable character of the social work which Christianity has been doing in certain parts of India. He notices that the characteristic weakness of Indian native religion lies in the fact it does not stimulate that close relationship between the upper and lower castes which is the glory and the distinctive work of the Christian religion. The Brahmin despises the pariah on principle. But he does not perceive the remarkable revolution that Christianity has brought about in Southern India by the education and elevation of the lowest classes. This

characteristic action of Christianity is being exemplified in India in the districts where the number of poor Christians is most considerable.

As far as I have ever read history, I see that Christianity almost always at the beginning got hold of the less educated people first, and then gradually raised itself and spread from them to the higher and more educated classes. Now I do not know whether English people are really alive to the fact that in Tinnevely and Southern India generally Christianity has already got an enormous hold on the lower pariah caste, and is raising it in the scale of society. But I do know that educated Hindus look at the movement with some astonishment.

Thirdly, he fails, I think, to see that incompatibility between the fundamental ideas which lie at the root of the various Indian religions and of Christianity makes any cohesion and real unity of religion by amalgamation almost an impossible thing. I see on the one hand Mohammedanism, with its hard conception of a God altogether outside and aloof from the world, yet personal with intense distinctness; and on the other extreme I see Hinduism, with its vague and shifting ideas, with its enmity to all that is personal and individual in human or divine life. If there is to be a meeting point between these two principles, I can conceive of no meeting point other than in the great Christian idea of God, both transcendent and immanent, both over all and in all. And Christianity, we must remember, came from Syria, the meeting point of East and West—not from England. Christianity is not the same thing as English Christianity.

I want, if I can do it, to try and make my countrymen feel that in the possession of these three hundred millions of people there is entrusted to us a tremendous responsibility. I have been to India, and, you know, when you have been to India you can never forget it—the melancholy picturesqueness, the vastness, the aloofness, the variety of it all. On the spot you feel indeed the extraordinary responsibility which rests upon us—us who are so unlike the Indians, so alien to them in all we do and think, and yet have been entrusted with the government and care of them all.

And, secondly, I want Englishmen to feel that it is not enough to pride themselves merely on their institutions. It is not enough that we have brought India a new civilisation, that we have given them a new education and a just and fair administration. Men cannot live on telegraph systems and railways, or on any of the outward forms of civilisation alone. These are but changes on the surface. The real question that we must ask ourselves is what is happening within, what we are doing to that which lies below the surface, what is taking place deep down in the inner consciousness, in the very soul of India.

Thirdly, I want to help my countrymen to realise that something very profound is indeed happening in India simply through our being there. I want them to understand that by our very presence, by our civilisation based on such contrary ideas to their own, we are inevitably breaking up their systems and destroying their ancient beliefs. We cannot help it, it is inevitable. It may be a somewhat faster process and it may be somewhat slower, but there it is going on inevitably and surely—we are destroying their traditions and their fundamental ideas. I have endeavoured to introduce these two French books to you in order to bring to your notice two aspects of India that are not without their value. Neither of these books will give you what I believe to be the true solution of the problem they raise, but on the whole it is the latter book which is the better worth reading. I do not think that any man could read it through without gaining to some extent a sense of the tremendous responsibility which rests upon us, the possessors of India. And if I can make at least one Englishman feel that, I shall know that the labour, the pleasurable labour, of endeavouring to introduce these two books to your notice, has not been altogether a labour in vain.

C. WIGORN.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

THE discovery of America in 1492 and of the sea route to the Indies in 1498 may be said to have ushered in the era of modern missionary enterprise. In the providence of God these discoveries were made by the two Christian nations best fitted in that age for the work of the propagation of the Faith.

The vast empires that Spain and Portugal suddenly found in their possession were regarded by the people as a sign of the special favour of God. The conversion of their new subjects was the chief thought of the sovereigns. No ship was allowed to leave for the new countries without a priest or monk. These good intentions of the home governments combined with the zeal of the religious orders were only thwarted by the cupidity and bad example of the colonists. Very frequently do the missionaries complain that the white settlers were the greatest obstacle to the conversion of the heathen. Nevertheless, thanks to a powerful ecclesiastical organisation and a discipline that awed the greatest culprits, Christianity spread rapidly in the New World. Churches, monasteries, bishoprics, colleges followed each other in quick succession as one Indian nation after another embraced the Faith.

And now, four centuries after the discovery of America, we find in all that continent, from the southern boundary of the United States to Patagonia, the Christian Faith everywhere professed by the whole civilised populations. One hundred and twenty-two archbishops and bishops preside over the Latin American Church and govern a Catholic population of seventy millions, and vicars apostolic or prefects apostolic superintend the missions to the savage tribes of the interior. Such are the splendid

results of the Christian zeal of Spain and Portugal. The Indian population was not exterminated as it was in English-speaking America, but it was gradually raised to the same position as that enjoyed by the native whites, and the two races freely intermingled.

What Spain did for her American possessions she also did for her Asiatic ones, and the Philippine Islands contain a Christian Malay population of six millions under an archbishop and four bishops. No other country can show greater results.

Portugal vied with Spain for a time in missionary energy. On Vasco da Gama's return from the first voyage to India the whole nation received him with transports of enthusiasm, and a powerful fleet was at once equipped for the Indies. Eight Franciscans accompanied the troops with the intention of preaching the Gospel to the heathen. On the voyage out a violent tempest drove the ships on the Brazilian coast, and Cabral, the commander, rightly conjectured that they had reached the New World. The missionaries celebrated Mass, and the land was solemnly taken possession of in the name of the Portuguese Crown. Cabral then departed for India. War with Moslems and natives and the discovery of the Nestorian Christians of Malabar quickly followed. In 1510 Goa was conquered and was made the capital of Portuguese India. In 1534 it became a bishopric, and in 1557 an archbishopric. Wherever Portuguese influence extended Catholicism was propagated. In 1565 three hundred thousand Christians were settled in and around Goa and along the Malabar and Coromandel coasts.

Francis Xavier.—The impulse given to missionary work by the zeal and labours of St. Francis Xavier, who landed in India in 1542, was felt all through the sixteenth century. He was another Apostle Paul. On the voyage out from Portugal he devoted himself to the personal conversion of the sailors and soldiers. Arriving at Goa, he found vice rampant in the colony and many of the clergy lukewarm. He began with the children, and his efforts were attended by success. Soon a change took place in Goa, followed by a religious revival. Leaving the local clergy to continue the work he had inaugurated, Francis

Xavier made a missionary journey around the coast of South India. He converted tens of thousands, chiefly low caste people, and the Paravars remain to this day a monument of his success; he wrote spiritual songs which his disciples sang in the towns for the edification of the public; he revived Christianity in Ceylon, and shook off the dust of his feet against impenitent Malacca; he laboured in the Moluccas, and after the conversion of two Japanese strangers, the merchant, Han-siro and his servant, the burning zeal of Francis gave him no rest until he had accompanied them to their native land and laid the foundation of the Japanese Church. There also his success was marvellous, although he stayed little more than two years. But he was never satisfied; urged on by his thirst for souls he determined to attempt the conversion of China, and died on the sea shore of San Chan, at the mouth of the Canton river, on December 2, 1552, after an apostolic ministry of ten years and seven months.

Early Jesuit Missions.—St. Francis Xavier was followed in his missionary toils by a multitude of labourers. Jesuits, like himself, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites, all vied with each other in spreading Christianity. Father Nobili devoted his energies to the conversion of the Brahmans and high caste Hindus in Madura in 1606, and, having adopted their dress and mode of life and perfected himself in their learning, he was soon surrounded by a host of converts. Father Geronimo Xavier, nephew of Francis, settled at the court of the Emperor Akbar in 1595. Christianity made progress and the great Mogul was not unfavourable. After Akbar's death three royal princes were baptized; they rode to church on white elephants, and were received by Father Geronimo with much pomp, A.D. 1610. A college was founded at Agra, and a station at Patna a few years later. In 1624 hopes were entertained of the conversion of the Emperor Jehanghir. Dara, one of the four sons of Jehanghir who struggled for the empire, was believed to be a Christian. In South India the Syrian Nestorians were brought into union with Rome in 1599, through the efforts of Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, and it was hoped that the native Church would take its full share in the

conversion of the heathen. But these hopes were not fulfilled. Owing to the decay of the Portuguese power and the rise of the Dutch and English dominion on its ruins a large section of the Syrians of Malabar broke away from the Roman Communion, and, after a period of hesitancy as to their future, finally submitted themselves to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

The Jesuits were also the first to arrive in China. The old Nestorian Christianity of China had long ceased to be, and the mediæval missions from Rome had left little, if any, mark on Chinese life. Christianity was extinct when Father Ricci, following in the footsteps of St. Francis Xavier, reached China in 1583. He was a most wonderful man, and possessed rich endowments both of nature and grace ; and he required every grace and gift to enable him to carry on a struggle for twenty-seven years with Chinese prejudices and Chinese science. Ricci landed at Canton without money or books, trusting in God's grace and believing in his own vocation. He mastered the language and dressed as a literate to attract respect ; he travelled overland to Peking, and as he journeyed he made converts of the higher classes and founded churches wherever possible ; he finally gained the Emperor's favour by his mathematical knowledge and mechanical ingenuity ; he made a map for the Emperor superior to any other then found in China. Ricci made all secular instruction serve the cause of Christ. If he began a lesson or conversation with mathematics or astronomy he always ended with religion. Many mandarins embraced Christianity. In 1605 three imperial princes were baptized and adorned their profession by their lives. Ricci died in 1610, worn out with labours, and advised his followers "to carry on the work without noise or display, and in this tempestuous ocean to keep ever near the shore." This advice was carefully followed. In 1610 an eclipse of the moon occurred ; the Jesuits were right in their calculations and the native astronomers about an hour wrong in theirs. The Jesuits were now directed to rectify the astronomical tables and were greatly honoured for their learning. In 1616 Christian churches were found in five provinces. The Jesuits yielded in all things indifferent to the Chinese

customs, and in 1619 this line of conduct was approved of by the Pope. From this period until the death of the Emperor Kang-hi in 1722 no year passed which did not see the conversion of thousands. In 1631 the Dominicans and Franciscans began to arrive and spread themselves over the land.

Yong-Tching, the successor of Kang-hi, immediately on his accession to power issued an edict of extermination against Christianity. The Christian members of the imperial family and upper classes were the first to suffer, and they endured with heroism their tortures and imprisonment. Their example has been followed by an innumerable host of martyrs and confessors down to the present day. It is now nearly two hundred years since Yong-Tching issued his decree, and Christianity is much stronger in China than when he resolved to exterminate it. Princes and mandarins, soldiers and peasants, women and children have passed through the fiery furnace, and each class has in turn triumphed by the power of Jesus Christ. In all Christendom no records are more glorious than those of the Chinese Church. The constancy of the believers is attested by their persecutors, by travellers from Europe, by Russians and Protestants, in addition to the evidence produced by the native Church.

Within thirty years after the introduction of the Gospel into Japan it is calculated that over 200,000 people were baptized, including some bonzes and nobles. The city of Nagasaki became a stronghold of Christianity. Jesuit fathers tended the flock and pushed their influence in every direction. The country was torn by factions, and the Jesuits were fortunate at first to attach themselves to the victorious party. The Christians multiplied exceedingly. Gregory XIII. sent Father Valignani with congratulations and gifts to the converted Japanese princes. They in turn sent solemn embassies to Rome to present their homage to the Pope. Valignani was himself the founder of three hundred churches and thirty mission-houses in Japan. In 1593 the Franciscans established themselves in Kyoto and Nagasaki, and preached the Gospel with success. The Buddhist party now became thoroughly alarmed, and persecution broke out partly through religious hatred and

partly through fear lest the King of Spain should conquer the country by means of his Christian allies. This idea was industriously circulated by the Dutch. In 1597 Peter Baptist and his twenty-five companions were crucified at Nagasaki. With a change of rulers peace returned to the Church for a few years. Dominicans and Augustinians came to recruit the ranks of the missionaries ; the Bishop of Japan was a Jesuit, and to that Order was committed the care of the whole country. It is thought that when the great persecution broke out in 1617 there was a Christian population approaching two millions. The Japanese persecution ranks with those of Diocletian and of Sapor for thoroughness and systematic cruelty. It is calculated that over one thousand members of the four orders, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, were martyred and of the laity more than two hundred thousand. The last stronghold of Christianity was destroyed by the heathen in 1638, and in this siege they were assisted by Dutch Protestants. Forty thousand people, old and young, were massacred, and Christianity was thought to be extinguished in Japan.

This action of the Dutch in assisting the enemies of Christianity was quite in keeping with the policy they systematically pursued in all their colonies, with the possible exception of Ceylon. They were unable, or unwilling, to propagate their own form of Christianity, and they have allowed the whole population of the East Indies to pass over from heathenism to Mohammedanism since they ousted the Portuguese, without any effort on their part to bring these peoples to the Cross. In this anti-Christian policy they were closely imitated by the English until the great revival of zeal during the last century.

When the Portuguese revolution broke the yoke of Spain and placed the House of Braganza on the throne it was not accompanied by a corresponding religious revival, and only in Brazil did Christianity expand. The general godlessness of the eighteenth century completed the ruin of the Asiatic missions. The French Revolution came and went, and though for a time the supply of missionaries was cut off owing to the troubles which accompanied and followed the general upheaval in Europe, the reaction

which followed the downfall of French ascendancy was highly favourable to the revival of missionary effort at home and abroad.

The Propaganda.—The Roman Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, commonly called the Propaganda, has supreme control of all Catholic missions. It owes its origin in its present form (A.D. 1622), to the efforts of Father Girolamo da Narni, a great Roman preacher, during the pontificate of Gregory XV. He suggested that a Congregation should be established to administer the missions throughout the world. The members were to meet at least monthly in the Pope's presence. A college for the education of missionary clergy was established, and a printing press for the production of Catholic literature. The Propaganda supplied a want, and it had continued to flourish, although in our own times it has been deprived of its endowments by the Italian Government without regard to their international character and aim.

Society for the Propagation of the Faith and its Auxiliaries.—But there is another institution known as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which was called into existence owing to the changed attitude of the European countries to the work of the Church. Kings and governments no longer exerted themselves to extend Christ's Kingdom, and it became necessary to appeal to the people. Many societies were founded during the last century to grapple with the work under the new conditions: the Association of the Holy Childhood; the Association of Oriental Schools in France; the Society of St. Francis Xavier in Aix-la-Chapelle; the Association of St. Peter Claver, in Salzburg; the Leopoldverein, in Austria; the Ludwigsmissionverein in Bavaria. All these Societies, and a number of others, including "Anti-Slavery" and "Holy Land" Associations, have either a limited aim or assist missionaries of particular nationalities, but the Society for the Propagation of the Faith is general in its activity.

The beginnings of the Society were feeble and obscure; women engaged in the silk factories of Lyons were the first members. At the foundation meeting

twelve persons were present. A priest gave a short account of the progress and sufferings of religion in North America, and proposed the founding of a universal association for the benefit of Catholic missions all over the world. The resolution was adopted, and a president and committee elected. Pope Pius VII. blessed the Society in 1823 and the bishops of the various nations joined in the good work. Finally, Pope Gregory XVI. recommended the Society to all Churches in an encyclical letter, and placed it in the rank of universal Christian institutions. The Society takes no part in selecting missionaries, nor in appointing them their field of work, nor in training them for it, and it does not concern itself with the interior administration of missions. It supports priests sent forth to minister by the usual authorities, and its working expenses are nominal. Founded by the laity, its administration is almost entirely in their hands. There are two central councils, one in Lyons and the other in Paris. The services of the members are entirely gratuitous. The laity who compose the councils are known for their position in business and society, their experience in administration, their talents and their piety. There is no permanent fund arising from investments, and all the money raised annually is annually distributed. It is a law of the Society to make its affairs public.

The "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," first published in French, soon appeared in the languages of the countries where the Society was established. In 1840 the first English edition came out. At present over 300,000 copies of the annals are published bi-monthly in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Polish, Flemish, German, Basque, Maltese, Breton, &c. An American edition is published at Baltimore.

I have frequently observed that in comparisons made between moneys contributed by Roman Catholics on the one side and Protestant societies on the other, the mistake is generally made of ignoring all Roman Catholic missionary agencies other than the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. And so the Roman Church is regarded by an ill-informed public as doing comparatively little for mission work abroad. As a matter of fact many

societies and religious orders are engaged in the work of evangelisation, but the amounts contributed and expended by them are no more made public than the heroism and self-denial of the workers.

The following Religious Orders and Societies are now engaged in mission work mainly supported by their own exertions:—Society of African Missions of Lyons, and of Verona; Algerian Missionaries for North and Central Africa; Augustinians; Basilians; Benedictines; Carmelites; Cistercians; Dominicans; Belgian, English, French, Italian, and German Societies for Foreign Missions; Franciscans; Minor, and Conventual, and Minor Capuchins; Holy Ghost; Holy Ghost and Sacred Heart of Mary; Jesuits; Josephites; La Salette; Lazarists; Marists; Oblates of Mary Immaculate; Pallotins; Norbertins; Missionary Fathers of Issoudon; Annecy Fathers; and Salesians. In addition to the foregoing there are more than thirty orders of Brothers and more than one hundred and twenty-five orders of Sisters engaged in missionary work. At least 15,000 priests and monks, 5,000 teaching brothers, and 45,000 sisters are in the mission field, not to speak of native workers in each missionary country. It is an astonishing number, all the more so when one remembers that a century ago those missionaries were scarcely a thousand.

Modern Missions in India.—The influence exerted by the Crown of Portugal on behalf of Christianity was acknowledged by the Holy See in the sixteenth century by the transfer of the right of patronage of all the bishoprics founded in the Portuguese colonies and neighbouring provinces. This patronage was grossly abused soon after it was conferred. The Crown considered its consent necessary before any missionary entered Asia. Paul V. annulled this claim, but was opposed by the civil power and the corrupt Goanese clergy. The Christianity of whole districts was allowed to die out owing to the greed and worldliness of the Goanese. The efforts made by the Pope to bring about their correction were always thwarted by the Inquisition, which itself was worked by the State, and in 1778 matters were brought to a head when the English Government was compelled to expel

from Bombay the Indo-Portuguese clergy and call on the nearest vicar apostolic to take the oversight of the Church there ; he obtained leave from Rome to do so, but the Goanese Primate never ceased to claim jurisdiction in Bombay. When the Portuguese Government would neither increase the bishoprics nor assist in spreading the Faith, the Roman See established vicars apostolic over provinces detached from the Portuguese bishoprics and forbade the Portuguese to interfere with that arrangement.

It was quite evident that the friction between the two powers would one day burst into flame. So when Gregory XVI. found that the civil war between Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro ended in an almost total revolt from Rome, he resolved to act and put an end to the Portuguese obstruction. With the consent of the English Government he erected Vicariates Apostolic in Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, and other Indian districts. And when the Goanese broke out into open schism the Pope abrogated the decrees of his predecessors ; abolished the sees of Cranganor, Cochin, and Meliapur ; marked out the limits of the vicariates, making them dependent on the Holy See alone ; and abolished the metropolitan rights of Goa. The Goanese schism brought no credit to its promoters, it did much harm to Christianity, and its evil effects may be seen to this day. But since the Goanese faction was condemned by Rome there has been a great revival in the Indian Catholic Church. The vicars apostolic increased in number as the Church increased until the time came when it was considered suitable to appoint a national hierarchy for India and Ceylon. By the Apostolic Letter *Humanae Salutis Auctor* of September 1, 1886, his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. proclaimed the establishment of the Indian Hierarchy, and by a Concordat with Portugal the same Pope rearranged the sees subject to the patronage of the Portuguese Crown.

By the new arrangement the Archbishop of Goa becomes patriarch *ad honorem* in the East Indies, and has as suffragans the Bishops of Damaun (Archbishop of Cranganor *ad honorem*), Cochin, Meliapur, and Macao in China. Archbishops have been appointed to Agra,

Bombay, Calcutta, Colombo, Madras, Pondicherry, and Verapoly, and these seven Metropolitan Sees have under them nineteen bishoprics. Moreover, three native apostolic vicars govern the Catholics of the Syrian rite.

According to "*Missiones Catholicæ*" for 1901, published by the Propaganda, there are in French and British India 1,214,415 Catholics, 602 chief stations, 3,708 churches and chapels, 2,089 schools, 13 seminaries, 809 European missionaries, 349 native priests, and 191 orphanages. Under the jurisdiction of Goa there are about 534,000 Catholics. In the diocese of Goa alone the priests number 665, and they are numerous in the other Portuguese dioceses.

The Goanese jurisdiction causes much confusion to one who tries to get correct statistics. In Bombay, for example, the Catholic population under the Archbishop is returned as 16,160, but that number does not represent their real strength; as many as 60,000 are subject to the Goanese jurisdiction. We find a difficulty somewhat similar in dealing with the Syrians of Malabar. They are frequently lumped together in the state census, but according to the reports of the three Syrian vicars apostolic the Catholic Syrians number 306,731 under 468 priests, and the Jacobites and other schismatics number 228,490. So, if we add together all Catholics of the Latin and Oriental rites in India, we get 2,055,146.

Indo-China.—All the countries included under the name of Indo-China were first made acquainted with Christianity through the efforts of Roman missionaries. The mission of Tong-King was founded by Father Alexander de Rhodes in 1627. Within three years he and his colleague had baptized 6,000 pagans, including priests and members of the royal family. Persecution followed for a short time with the usual result. In 1639 there were in Tong-King 82,500 Christians. In the two years 1645 and 1646 24,000 converts were baptized; before fifty years had elapsed from the foundation of the mission 200,000 souls had been won to Christ.

The like marvellous success which attended the first preaching of the Gospel in Japan and China was also seen in Tong-King and Annam, and, as in the two former

countries, systematic persecution soon assailed the Christians and pursued them until our own times.

We find that in 1721 all the tribunals of the kingdom were thronged with Christians brought up for judgment, and almost all displayed the greatest heroism in death. In 1787 we read of the martyrdom of priests, three of whom were members of noble European families. In 1750 the prisons were choked with confessors, and one of the bishops and some priests were tortured to death. A century of persecution ended with a great increase in the numbers of the faithful. In 1857 the Annamite Christians numbered 530,000. From this time until France took possession of Tong-King, and reduced Annam to the condition of a protectorate, the persecutions became, if possible, more violent than ever. Whole populations were exterminated because they would not apostatise from their faith, and in the execution of notable Christians the persecutors displayed the most fiendish cruelty in the number and ingenuity of their tortures. Since the French annexation public persecution has ceased.

Christianity found an entrance into Burma and Siam in the sixteenth century by means of the Portuguese. In 1662 we find Siam constituted an apostolic vicariate, and Burma was in like manner provided for in 1722, but the preaching of the Gospel does not seem to have taken so deep a root as in the kingdom of Annam, nor were the Burmese and Siamese Christians called upon to endure so bitter a persecution as their neighbours, although their sincerity was often put to the proof.

In the whole of Indo-China there are now 16 bishops, 512 European missionaries, 527 native priests, 858 churches, 2,787 chapels, 2,343 schools, and 250 charitable institutions, and more than 950,000 Christians. The gross population is about forty millions.

China.—From the date of the suppression of the Jesuits, followed within a few decades by the general attack on monastic orders in all the Latin countries of Europe, the Christians of China were practically abandoned to their own resources until the Jesuits were again called by Pius VII. to their former place in the Church. This act was the precursor of that general revival in missionary

zeal and energy which followed the settlement of Europe in 1815.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Russian Government sent Timkowski to Peking, and we learn from him how the native Catholics fared at that time. In 1805 he says: "A fresh persecution was commenced against the Christians. They endeavoured to oblige them to trample upon the cross and to abjure their errors; they who refused were threatened with death. At Peking many thousand persons were discovered who had embraced the Christian religion, even among the members of the imperial family, and mandarins."

On September 14, 1815, Bishop Dufresse, after a ministry of thirty-nine years, was led to execution at the head of thirty-two confessors. Throughout the five years which followed Chinese priests were continually martyred, and died like Ignatius or Polycarp in the primitive Church. When one of these native priests learned that he was condemned to death for Christ he calmly replied, "I should never have ventured to hope for so signal a grace."

In 1818 many Christians were exiled to the wilds of Tartary, and when in 1823 pardon was offered to all who were willing to renounce Christianity five accepted the offer and two hundred steadfastly refused. Sometimes the confessors were called upon to witness the torture of their own children, and at other times it was the children who were privileged to console and confirm the faith of their parents.

In 1816, in the province of Su-tchuen, a Franciscan father was strangled and four Chinese priests suffered martyrdom in succession. A fifth succumbed to his tortures in prison, as well as twenty laymen. These cases are only a few taken out of many. The history of Catholic mission work in China is like a passage from the annals of the primitive church. In the very midst of these events a single priest could report that he had baptized 1,006 adults and given 79,000 communions in one year at the very seat of this persecution.

In the persecution of 1832, which raged throughout the northern half of China, the Christians held firm almost to a man. In one of the imperial edicts the Emperor

observed "that the Christians were not guilty of any crime, but that which rendered them without excuse in his eyes was that every one of them, even to a blind old woman, despised his authority in order to obey a European."

Every year in succession witnessed the same trials of strength in which clergy and laity, men and women, fought the good fight and witnessed the good confession. In 1861 we read of the martyrdom of ten priests and three bishops; one of the latter was literally hacked to pieces with blunt instruments. During the last forty years there has been no cessation to the fight; either by legal process, or by secret organisation like the Boxers, or by mob violence, the white-robed army of martyrs has been too frequently reinforced.

In 1900 the Chinese Church possessed 38 vicariates apostolic under more than 40 bishops, 904 European missionaries, 471 native priests, 4,126 churches and chapels, 3,584 schools, 60 seminaries, and a Catholic population of 720,540.

Korea.—At the south of Manchuria, jutting out between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, lies the peninsula of Korea. The history of the church in Korea reads like a martyrology. Its whole history is written in blood. It is dungeon, torture, execution on every page; martyrdom for every person discovered to be a Christian; the first evangelist from China a martyr; the first native Christian a martyr; the first native priest, the first bishop, the first European missionaries, all martyrs.

Here, as in China, the worship of ancestors proved the chief obstacle to the conversion of the people. Christianity entered Korea with the return of the Embassy of 1783 from Peking. In 1785 and in 1791 the first Christians were put to death. Persecution increased their numbers. Soon 4,000 persons had embraced Christianity, although they had never seen a priest or assisted at religious functions. A Chinese priest succeeded in penetrating the country in 1795, and celebrated Mass on Easter Sunday for the first time in Korea. In 1831 Korea became a vicariate apostolic, and was consigned to the care of the Society for Foreign Missions.

In 1866 the Christians numbered 25,000, under two bishops and ten missionaries. In the great persecution of that year 10,000 of these perished. The mission was reorganised in 1876 by a new vicar apostolic and a fresh band of missionaries. In 1894 the Christians were found to be 20,840, and the adult baptisms that year were 1,443. Freedom of conscience is now proclaimed, and in 1901 the Christians numbered 32,220.

Japan.—After the last stronghold of the Faith in Japan had been taken by assault, and the whole population put to death, little was known about the internal condition of that country, and it was generally assumed that Christianity had become extinct. But in 1831 a Japanese vessel was wrecked on the shores of one of the Philippine Islands, and its crew of twenty sailors was found to be possessed of Christian medals, which they regarded with great veneration. These descendants of the old Christians were all instructed and baptized. From 1832 to 1858 many attempts were made by the Catholic missionaries to gain admission to Japan, but every attempt ended in failure. The French at length succeeded in making a treaty, and missionaries settled in the three treaty ports to attend to the spiritual interests of Europeans, and churches were built in Yokohama and Nagasaki.

In 1862 Pope Pius IX. canonised the first twenty-six martyrs of Japan, and in 1865 a fine church, built in honour of these martyrs, was opened at Nagasaki, where they had been crucified. Scarcely a month elapsed before the existence of the ancient Japanese Church was made known. Father Petitjean tells us how

"On March 17, 1865, about half-past twelve, some fifteen persons were standing at the church door. Urged, no doubt, by my angel guardian, I went up and opened the door. I had scarce time to say a Pater when three women, between fifty and sixty years of age, knelt down beside me, and said in a low voice, placing their hand upon their heart :

" 'The hearts of all of us here do not differ from yours.' 'Indeed!' I exclaimed. 'Whence do you come?' They mentioned their village, adding : 'At home everybody is the same as we are.'

"Blessed be Thou, O my God, for all the happiness which filled my soul. What a compensation for five years of barren

ministry ! Scarce had our dear Japanese opened their hearts to us than they displayed an amount of trustfulness which contrasts strangely with the behaviour of their pagan brethren. I was obliged to answer all their questions, and to talk to them of *O Deus Sama*, *O Yaso Sama*, and *Santa Maria Sama*, by which names they designate God, Jesus Christ, and the Blessed Virgin. The view of the statue of the Madonna and Child recalled Christmas to them, which they said they had celebrated in the eleventh month. They asked me if we were not at the seventeenth day of the Time of Sadness (*i.e.* Lent). Nor was St. Joseph unknown to them ; they call him *O Yaso Samana yo fu*, ' the adoptive father of our Lord.' In the midst of this volley of questions footsteps were heard ; immediately all dispersed. But as soon as the newcomers were recognised all returned laughing at their fright.

" ' They are people of our village,' they said. ' They have the same heart as we have.'

" However, we had to separate for fear of awakening the suspicions of the officials, whose visit I feared. On Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, April 13 and 14, 1,500 people visited the church of Nagasaki. The presbytery was invaded, the faithful took the opportunity to satisfy their devotion before the crucifix and the statues of Our Lady. During the early days of May the missionaries learnt of the existence of 2,500 Christians scattered in the neighbourhood of the city. On May 15 there arrived delegates from an island not very far from here. After a short interview we dismissed them, detaining only the catechist and the leader of the pilgrimage. The catechist, named Peter, gave us the most valuable information. Let me first say that his formula for baptism does not differ at all from ours, and that he pronounces it very distinctly. He declares that there are many Christians left up and down all over Japan. He cited in particular one place where there are over 1,000 Christian families. He then asked us about the Great Chief of the Kingdom of Rome, whose name he desired to know. When I told him that the Vicar of Christ, the saintly Pope Pius IX., would be very happy to learn the consoling news given us by himself and his fellow-countrymen, he gave full expression to his joy. Nevertheless, before leaving he wished to make quite sure that we were the true successors of the ancient missionaries. ' Have you no children ? ' he asked timidly.

" ' You and all your brethren, Christian and heathen, of Japan, are all the children whom God has given us. Other children we cannot have. The priest must, like your first apostles, remain all his life unmarried.' "

When the Japanese were satisfied that the French priests represented their former missionaries they came in

from the outlying districts to learn more about their religion. Next day an entire Christian village asked the priests to visit them. Two days later 600 more Christians sent a deputation to Nagasaki. By June 8 the missionaries had heard of twenty-five "Christianities," and seven "baptizers" were put into direct relation with them.

Pius IX. appointed Father Petitjean Vicar Apostolic of Japan in 1866, and in the following year 205 more Japanese martyrs were beatified by the Pope, who also established a feast under the title "The Finding of the Christians" to be for ever celebrated by the Church of Japan on each 17th of March.

When the Japanese Government learned that there was a considerable number of Christians who had preserved their religion notwithstanding their long isolation, fresh edicts were published against "the evil sect called Christian." Even when the great national revolution was accomplished which restored the Mikado to undivided power and abolished the Shogunate, persecution did not cease. In the latter part of 1869 4,500 Christians were deported from Urakami and the Goto Islands, chief centres of Catholicism. To these confessors the Pope wrote a letter of encouragement. It was not till 1873 that persecution ended, and by that time 2,000 confessors had succumbed to death. From 1873 there has been uninterrupted progress in every department of the mission, and the single vicariate had grown into four by 1891. In that year Pope Leo XIII. established a national episcopate under the Archbishop of Tokyo as metropolitan over the three suffragan Sees of Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate. Previous to this act the Mikado had sent an embassy to Rome to present his congratulations to the Pope on the occasion of his sacerdotal jubilee.

The table on page 63 will show at a glance the growth of the Japanese Church. There are also 268 catechists and 30 religious communities, containing 81 men and 323 women, all engaged in the work of the Church. In 1903 18 conversions of heretics or schismatics took place and 1,649 adult pagans were baptized. The Japanese Mission is worked by the Foreign Missionary Society of Paris.

Africa.—At one time it was thought that Africa would

Year	Superiors	Miss.	Native Clergy	Churches and Chapels	Schools	Number of Catholics
1860	1 Prefect Apostolic	2	0	0	0	none known
1870	1 Vicar Apostolic .	13	0	4	0	10,000
1880	2 Vicars Apostolic.	28	0	80	60	23,989
1891	1 Archbishop and 3 Bishops	82	15	164	64	44,505
1903	Ditto	121	31	165	40	58,080

have been evangelised from the Portuguese settlements, and much progress was made in Congo with the heathen and in Ethiopia with the Monophysites, but the decline of Portugal as a political and religious force brought about the destruction of Christian missionary work. The great Christian revival during the nineteenth century has revived the decaying African churches, and the discoveries made by modern enterprise have opened up countries never previously reached to the diffusion of Christianity.

The annexation of Algeria by France in 1830 opened a way for Christian enterprise into the interior of Africa from the north. In 1838 Algiers was made an episcopal See, and European colonists were encouraged to settle in suitable districts. The conversion of the natives was prevented, however, by the restrictions of the French Government. In 1866 a change for the better took place, which unfortunately did not last long. In that year the diocese of Algiers was made archiepiscopal, and two new bishoprics were erected at Oran and Constantine. The appointment of Mgr. Lavigerie to Algiers augured well for the Christian cause. Napoleon III, and MacMahon, the Governor of Algeria, soon found that they had got the wrong man for their narrow-minded policy of hindering the progress of Christianity and favouring Mahomedanism. They tried to induce the archbishop to accept a metropolitan see in France, but in vain. The dreadful famine of 1868 favoured the good prelate's policy. Thousands of starving children were gathered into his house from the streets and lanes, and in a short time he found himself responsible for

the education and maintenance of 2,000 Arab children. He could not look for help from the French clergy, for they were rigorously excluded by the Government from all ministrations among Moslems. He was thus forced to found a missionary order of priests trained to live as the Arabs and natives lived, and devoted to their conversion; they were to wear the white robe of the Arab, and to learn the principal dialects of the country. According to the constitutions of this society there must always be three missionaries together in a residence. The members are commonly called the White Fathers. To support and assist these priests in their work the archbishop instituted an order of nuns and two congregations of men and women. In 1868 Archbishop Lavigerie was appointed Papal Delegate of the Sahara and Soudan, thus affording fresh scope for his zeal. In 1873 he determined to send three missionaries to establish stations in the mountains between Algeria and Sahara. Here they became acquainted with the Kabyles, descendants of the ancient native Christians, who had preserved many Christian customs and traditions. In 1876 three more priests were sent to Timbuctoo, but they were murdered by the Moslems not far from their destination. When the joyful news of their martyrdom reached Algiers all the members of the society offered themselves to the archbishop for the same post, but he did not think the young congregation should be exposed to such enormous sacrifices, and he refused the request. In 1881 three more priests were murdered at Ghadames by the Tauregs.

Every year since 1878 has seen fresh missionary expeditions set forth from the mother house at Algiers for the interior of Africa. The White Fathers carry on mission work in Algeria and Tunis, Sahara, Sudan, Nyassa, Congo, Tanganyika, Unyanyembe, and around the Victoria Nyanza. In these regions there are 309 missionaries, 168 nuns, 1,255 catechists, 93,271 neophytes, and 196,561 catechumens. In the year 1903 8,277 adults were baptized and 3,822 children of Christian parents; 485,942 confessions were made and 474,668 communions.

Their most successful mission is that of Uganda, where they have 78,078 converts and 153,011 catechumens.

Owing to political difficulties arising from the rival claims of France and England in Uganda and the countries adjoining, the White Fathers retired from Uganda proper when it became definitely English, and now they labour in South Uganda and in German territory. The English Missionary Society of St. Joseph, founded by the late Cardinal Vaughan, has taken up the work in Uganda proper. Beginning in 1895 with four priests, 168 Catholics, and 1,000 catechumens, the mission had grown in 1900 to 22 priests, 5,654 Catholics, and 13,048 catechumens. According to the Annual Report for 1903, 2,617 adults were baptized last year, 61,067 communions were made, there were 2,200 confirmations, 15,052 Catholics, 18,048 catechumens, and 32 priests all under the vicar apostolic of the Upper Nile.

St. Joseph's Society has also in its charge flourishing missions in Borneo, India, and New Zealand. In its four colleges 136 students are preparing themselves for evangelistic work, and there is no lack of volunteers.

In the Vicariate of Victoria Nyanza south, situated in German East Africa, which in 1895 began with six missionaries and a little flock of twelve Christians, considerable success has also attended the work. In June 1902 there were twenty-eight priests, 2,439 Christians, and 7,628 catechumens.

When in 1877 Germany was established on the East African coast difficulties arose owing to the mission work being in the hands of Frenchmen, but thanks to the political influence of the German centre party these difficulties were removed, and the Congregation of the Holy Ghost was allowed to open missionary houses in Germany to supply the German colonies with German missionaries. In 1897 the Trappists from Natal came to the help of the vicar apostolic of Northern Zanzibar, and have erected six stations. The present strength of this mission is one bishop, twenty-nine priests, and 6,682 Catholics in German territory, and ten priests and 1,725 Catholics in English territory.

The Congo State is worked by Redemptorists, Trappists, Jesuits, White Fathers, Norbertine Fathers, Priests of the Sacred Heart, and Scheut missionaries. All the

missionaries, priests, lay-brothers and nuns are Belgians, and the progress made during the twelve years the mission has been in existence shows five ecclesiastical districts with thirty-nine central missions, twenty-six stations, 114 priests, forty lay-brothers, eighty-eight nuns, 18,720 Catholics, and 24,693 catechumens. The Church in the Portuguese possessions in Africa suffers from the pernicious interference of the Portuguese Crown. Portuguese Guinea and East Africa are not supposed to be missionary countries but are under the charge of the Bishop of Angola and the Prelate of Mozambique. There is a vast population of nominal Christians, but if any Church in Christendom needs reformation it is that of Portuguese Africa, and there is slight hope of improvement so long as the civil Government intervenes between the Roman Pontiff and his people in these colonies.

Steady progress marks the history of the Roman Church in British South Africa.

Nine vicars apostolic and prefects apostolic administer the Church, as it has not yet a national episcopate. Mission work is carried on among the Basutos and Zulus on a large scale, and among other tribes in a general way. When the late Vicar Apostolic of Natal kept the silver jubilee of his consecration statistics were published showing that when he began work in 1875 his diocese, which included Natal, Transvaal, Orangia, Diamond Fields, and Basutoland, had only six priests, three brothers, eight nuns, five churches, and three schools; whereas in 1899 the diocese had 114 priests, 284 brothers, 867 nuns, ninety churches and eighty-two schools; and all the other vicariates have made good progress.

The German territories in South Africa are worked by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the Camarun territory has been committed to the Pallotin Fathers, but these missions are as yet in their infancy.

The Moslem states along the Mediterranean are committed to the care of the Friars Minors. The Capuchins labour in Erythrea and Gallaland; Missionaries of the Holy Ghost in Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and Lower Nigeria; Priests of the Lyons Society for African Missions evangelise the countries of Upper Guinea; Oblate Fathers

are in French Congo; Steyl Missionaries in Togoland; Verona Missionaries in Central Sudan; and Abyssinia is committed to the charge of the Congregation of the Mission.

The whole of Africa, including the islands, has fifteen archbishops and bishops and thirty-one vicariates, and in the *missionary* countries 1,172 priests minister in 1,084 churches to 481,782 Catholics of the Latin rite.

In addition to the foregoing a large and increasing number of Copts in Egypt have entered into communion with Rome and have been placed under the new Catholic Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Bogos country in Abyssinia is the great stronghold of Catholics of the Ethiopic rite.

It has not been possible, owing to the limited space at the writer's disposal, to describe adequately the mission work of the Roman Catholic Church, and the account of the African Missions has been reduced to a mere sketch. For the same reason it has been thought well to omit altogether the story of the evangelisation of the islands of the Pacific.

RICHARD EUBANK.

SOME NOTES ON NEW GUINEA.

Early History of New Guinea. — New Guinea is supposed to have been overrun by three different races, all of which came from Central Asia—the Dravidians, the Negritos, and the Papuans. The first crossed to Australia and reached Tasmania. The second also crossed to Australia, but did not reach so far south as the first. The third did not reach Australia. Each race, mingling with the former inhabitants, contributed something which it possessed to the mixed race which resulted. For instance, dogs and light canoes and stone weapons reached Australia. But the third influx was of an agricultural race, furnished with many household implements and the skill to make them. It was they who largely formed the habits and customs of the race, making it what it now is.

I have occasionally come across some traces of an earlier race in the shape of stone implements not now in use among the natives; for example, stone bowls, cement bowls moulded into shape, a pestle, found in Deaugari on Mamba River, stones used as cloth beaters, carved with patterns similar to the wooden cloth beaters at present in use. We got several of these at Wamira and Taupota.

In studying the people of the present day, it seems impossible to find any clearly marked tribal divisions. The people generally speak of each other by the names of their villages, though one village may have several names; *e.g.* Wamira is the name given to the village by its inhabitants. The Wedau people call it Paipairina, and the people of the north of Goodenough Bay call it Loimara. The villages are very clannish; their inhabitants are reluctant to marry into another district.

Native Forms of Government.—I have never come across

a native who could be called a chief. One often finds a man of some considerable age in a village who exercises authority over other men, but the acceptance of this authority is voluntary on their part and a matter of personal influence on his. Generally, the old men are looked up to and obeyed; not the oldest men in the village, who have lost the power of leading their companions in business, but the next set of old men, who are able to take at least some share in the work which they decide should be done. They may consult among themselves, but the consultation is entirely informal, and their decision is accepted by the community in the same way. Anyone may choose his own way, and there is no punishment. The natives, however, have a great dread of being thought singular, and will do what the rest are doing just for this reason.

The system of life is largely communal. The village may be taken as the unit of government. Each village owns a certain district of planting and hunting land; the ground taken up each year is portioned out. Planting ground is never sold, though a crop may be taken off it by a stranger, some of the produce being given to the nominal owner as rent. When work is to be carried out for the common good, such as the making of irrigation dams and drains, all must do their share of the work.

Hunting is also carried out on a communal basis. The head of the family that claims the land decides when the grass is to be burnt. When a hunt takes place each man claims the animal he was the first to spear. But once in a season or so a day will be set apart as ladies' day, and on the conclusion of the hunt all the wallaby will be collected, there will be a sham fight, the women defending the village against the attacking huntsmen, and the day's bag of wallaby will be handed over to the defending force, and the men will eat none of it. The women make their return for this feast during the fishing season.

Within the village there is the division into families. Each family lives on its own plot of inherited ground in the village. The family is connected through maternal relationship, not paternal. Each family has a connection with some animal, which is called its spirit (*bariawa*), corre-

sponding to the totem in other places. This animal, reptile, or bird is spoken of as the father or grandfather of the family. None of the family will eat its flesh. Marriage within the family is strictly prohibited. All of the same generation in the one family call themselves brothers and sisters, and the older generation are all uncles and aunts to the younger one.

All families are not equally separated. Some, known by different names, have certain duties towards each other. A death feast, for instance, is partaken of by a kindred family, but not the family of the deceased. It is paid back to the deceased's family afterwards. A man travelling to another village will put up with those who claim him as a relation, and this secondary relationship is sufficient if the first is unobtainable. Under ordinary circumstances, marriage between kindred families is objected to, but it is recognised that circumstances can make it possible or desirable.

In addition to this matriarchal system, the father has of course some rights over his children, and he may bequeath certain kinds of personal property to them, but not property which has come to him as a member of his family. The mother's brother has more parental authority than the father. But it should be noted that all a man's brothers are counted fathers to his son. All a man's brother's children are his son's brothers and sisters, but his sisters are called aunts. But on the other side all a woman's sisters are her child's mothers, and all her nephews and nieces are his brothers and sisters too. Curiously enough, when they want to distinguish ages it is not the age of the children which they distinguish, but the age of their mothers or fathers. If A and B are elder and younger sisters, and both mothers of one of these large families, all A's real children will speak of all B's real children as "my younger sisters and brothers;" and the same when they share fathers. The elder father's children will be elder brothers and sisters to the younger father's children, whatever the actual ages of the individual children may be.

There is a certain amount of *polygamy*, but it does not complicate relationships so much as might be expected.

Sometimes the first wife has no children, and she has no objection to her husband taking another woman and rearing a family. Sometimes the second woman is a widow, who would have no one to do the heavy plantation work for her if she remained in her widowhood.

Food.—The New Guinea native is generally an agriculturist. He chooses the site for his settlement, or rather it was chosen by his ancestors, in view of its accessibility to his planting grounds. His crop is his wealth. A good season makes him for the time a rich man, a poor season leaves him poor. Food cannot be stored from year to year. It is too perishable.

The main crop in New Guinea is taro, though there are districts in which other foods are grown in greater quantity. The other main crops which grow where the soil suits them are yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas. Yams can be kept for a long time, and are therefore largely an article of commerce. Sweet potatoes are chiefly grown on the hills; the banana grown on the coast is generally the plantain.

Another staple food is the sago palm, but this grows naturally in the swamps. It grows about forty to fifty feet high, and its trunk is over two feet in diameter. The natives choose a tree that is not too young, cut it down, and strip off the outer shell, and then pound all the rest of the trunk into a pulp. They use either short stone heads on their native adze handles or a wooden head, the round end slightly hollowed out by fire. Near at hand they rig up one of the large hollow leaf stalks sloping, with a sieve of cocoanut fibre pegged across it, such as grows round the leaves. The pulp is placed in the trough, and water raised with a long-handled bucket of banana stalk, or palm fibre, in a cleft stick, and poured on the pulp, which is then squeezed with the hands, the sago runs out in suspension in the water, through the sieve, or grating, into shallow pans of palm leaf stalk on the ground. These overflow one into another, and at last, the sago having settled, the water escapes. In the evening the sediment is taken up and made into bundles.

As each fruit comes into season it forms for its period one of the staple foods of the villagers. The bread-fruit

season lasts for about two months, and some of the varieties around Awaïama are by no means to be despised. The native mango, the catappa, the *spondia dulcis*, the *eugenia*, and many others whose native names alone I know, each takes its share in providing sustenance for the natives. A kind of bread is made from the fruit of the cycas where it grows plentifully. In its natural state this nut is violently poisonous. The natives first husk the nut, and then soak the kernels for a week in fresh water. Then the kernels are crushed between stones, mixed with *târo* and cocoanut for flavouring, and wrapped up in banana leaf and roasted on a stone oven.

Ownership of Land.—Ownership of trees is not necessarily connected with ownership of the ground on which they grow. Thus a man may have cocoanut trees in various villages. When he goes for the fruit he may give some of it to the nearest resident for looking after his trees. A complicated case of ownership occurred in Wedau. In the village a man had fenced a banana patch. Inside the fence, among the bananas, a sucker from a root of a bread-fruit tree some distance away sprang up. The man tended the small plant, and it became a tree. Meanwhile the bananas were moved and the fence taken away. The dispute as to ownership occurred some years afterwards when the tree began to bear. The owner of the original tree from which the sprout came put in his claim. I believe it ended in one of the disputants taking the first crop and yielding up his rights to the rest.

Irrigation Canals.—No account of the agricultural pursuits of the natives would be complete without a description of the irrigation canals, made by the Bartle Bay and Boianai district peoples. The water is provided by rapid mountain streams. The river is dammed across with stones and turf, and deep drains lead the water to the plantations. On the Wedau side the face of a precipice abuts on the river bed, and a shelf has been cut into this precipice and the drain cut along the floor of the shelf well inside the face of the cliff. At Wamira and at Divari the difficulty in the way was a dry gully. Here posts erected on the floor of the gully support hollow logs, through which the water is led from the drain on the hill-

side, across the gully, and into another drain on a high embankment on the other side, and so onwards to the plantation. The chief of these works at Wamira has three logs, the middle one thirty feet long and the whole three stretching eighty feet, the bed of the dry gully being some twenty-five or thirty feet down.

In dry seasons, when crops and fruits fail, the natives fall back on liquorice root. The fires of the hunting season clear off the grass and the plant is easily found, and the natives get great bundles of it and take it home, and eat it raw or roast. Seaweeds, ferns, and numberless kinds of green leaves help to give variety to the village meals.

Pigs are a cause of great trouble in the plantations. The natives have frequently to watch day and night in order to protect their crops. The village pigs are often allowed to mate with boars in the bush, and very often the litter is born in the bush, but the young ones are brought into the village at once, and nursed in the house and brought up by hand. For baby pigs and dogs their owners (mothers they call them) will often masticate taro in their own mouths. They are put into string bags and carried about just like babies. Tame animals are never eaten by their owners. They are always killed when a feast is being made to another party.

Marriage.—When the young man has been duly initiated according to native custom he considers that he may look forward to matrimony. If a wife has not been already chosen for him he is allowed to choose for himself. When negotiations have been entered upon between the parents of the young people the girl's mother will give a good piece of ordinary boy's clothing to the young man, and that will be returned by the boy's mother taking a palm-leaf skirt for the girl. After one or two similar exchanges they proceed to food. The boy supplies the girl's parents with a meal; that also is paid back. Then at last the young man goes with a friend, possibly the girl's brother, in the evening and takes the girl home to his mother's house. This constitutes the marriage, even if none of the preliminaries have been observed. The next day the young couple walk out together to the gardens, and the bride begins to work at her husband's plot.

The young couple generally live affectionate lives, varied by an occasional tiff, with possibly the trouble of a mother-in-law. They spend part of their time in the wife's part of the village and part in the husband's. It would be some time before they would think of building a house for themselves.

Childbirth.—The marriage takes place so early that possibly some years elapse before the first child is born. For some months previous to that event the prospective mother will have been living under rule and restraint. She fasts from meat; she is allowed to do nothing which would cause her to handle string. The idea is that she must have nothing to do with entanglements. The rules extend to the prospective father to a certain extent. He must carry no heavy weights, neither his food, nor his digging-stick. He must not wear a particular kind of dress. Of course these observances on both sides are only for the first-born; afterwards things are taken as a matter of course. All married people treat their relations by marriage with a good deal of restraint. The son-in-law never repeats his father-in-law's name, nor *vice versa*; in fact, the husband and wife dare not mention each other's names.

Head-dress, &c.—Wedau women keep their hair short by shaving it periodically. Obsidian was used before glass was introduced. The shaven head would be covered all over with a coating of soot from the bottom of the pot, mixed with cocoanut oil. Children's heads are often treated in the same way. Women have little taste for ornament, but they stick flowers and croton leaves into the large holes in the lobe of their ears. There is very little tattooing done. The young men spend a considerable time attending to their personal appearance. When they come in from work about 3 P.M. they go and have a bathe, and then dress each other's hair. Cocoanut milk is extracted from the shredded kernels, and then the shreds, being used as a sponge, the milk is splashed on to the hair, which has previously been teased out with a native comb. Where the hair is worn in matted rats' tails, as at the Mamba, it is simply smeared on with the hand. In this case the rats' tails are often trained by having fine ribbons of pandanus attached to them separately. Young men, or girls, may be seen with their

head surrounded with these brown-yellow streamers. Sometimes the hair will be used as a convenient place in which to conceal a small article. A betel nut may thus be seen suspended from the back of a man's head. Combs of various shapes are common head ornaments. Ear ornaments are made of turtle-shell and ground red-coloured shell. They are worn in the hole in the lobe, which was pierced before the child was a month old, and has ever since been distended by rolled-up leaves, forming a gentle spring, being placed in the hole.

Medicine Men.—Some men are known for their possession of certain powers, which they may have inherited possibly from their uncles or gained by purchase from other people. One man claims the power to cause or drive away the rain. He will stand and gesticulate and splutter out cocoanut juice against a rain cloud, or he will perform some ceremony over water to bring rain. Another man can put taboo on food. He knows the formula, and a transgression of the taboo may mean sickness to the transgressor, either toothache, or pains in the limbs, or even a slow death. Other men can cure sicknesses. To cure toothache a handful of cut leaves is taken and rubbed on the outside of the jaw, with an incantation, and when taken away the leaves are full of some little insect, which is supposed to have been extracted from the jaw. The patient is not allowed to examine the handful previously to the operation. Stones are frequently charmed out of sick people's limbs or bodies; even bits of iron and meat tins have been seen to fall, and there is no place where they could have come from except the patient's body. Often a native has taken up a stone and said, "This is what the man got out of me. I feel better now." A native practitioner cannot conceal his trinkets up his sleeve. A man has more reputation outside his own village. A mountain man will be sent for to cure a coast native; the coast doctor will go up the mountains to visit the sick.

It is hard to know how far native remedies are genuine, as incantations often form part of the cure. The nut of the cycas is found to be a very valuable remedy for yaws. Special leaves are used for rubbing the skin, others for heating before the fire, others for boiling and then laying as

a poultice on the inflamed parts. Sorcery and witchcraft are not very prevalent in Wedau, though they are so in other places. A man whom I had reported to the Government said that he would pay me out. Long afterwards he came to the place, and I did my best to entertain him. The day after I had an attack of fever, the first for thirteen months. My boys told me subsequently that this man had caused it. It was certainly not imagination, because I had forgotten all about the man's threats. At Mamba a boy got some double-pointed sticks from his father to bury in the ground where I was to walk, but they produced no effect. It is very difficult to investigate a case of sorcery or witchcraft ; no acts can be proved. There is only a general impression that someone intends or is trying to injure another person. This is enough to throw the victim into a nervous sickness. Of course, if there is any real disease going about and a man catches it, he blames his enemy, who may have sent a threat to him through a third party.

Feasting.—Feasting takes up a considerable portion of the natives' thoughts and time. It is known months beforehand that at a certain indefinite period a feast will be held in a certain village. Messages are sent round to the neighbouring villages in connection with it. The precise time of the event depends on the taro being ripe and the pigs being grown. As the time comes near dancing begins in the village, and is kept up night after night. Within a few days of the occasion the men begin to bring in taro from the plantations in processions, and to stack it in the village. Sometimes a large platform is erected on which to place the meat. Then the visitors and the pigs begin to assemble. The pigs are brought in on poles, and may be contributions from other families towards the feast. The visitors will give dances the few nights preceding the feast ; each night will be assigned to a separate village, and the young men from that village will do all the dancing and singing, the rest looking on and listening. Then the great day comes. No one can ever say beforehand exactly when it will be, because it depends on the arrival of pigs and visitors from some distant place. But at last, in the morning or early in the afternoon, the pigs are killed and

cut up, and the taro is arranged for distribution. Then the conch is once more blown and the people assemble. The head man of the feast makes a speech. Then someone gets up and calls out the name of a visitor and makes a few remarks. He shouts out his name and says, "Here is your flesh," and flings a large joint of pork from the heap on the ground towards the spot where the man named is sitting. Out rush a lot of little boys and pick up the joint, the taro, and cocoanuts which are thrown with it, and take it to their party, and then the name of someone else is called out. No notice is taken of the abuse which may be used. It can be paid back when the next feast is made; for all this feasting is carried out strictly on a *quid pro quo* system, and the debts are paid in kind, perhaps many months after. Though this is a general outline of a feast, there is great variety in detail. There may be half a dozen pigs or half a hundred. If the place is in the bush shelters have to be erected for the visitors, though they are never large enough to hold them all. Sometimes there is some ceremonial dancing. One constant feature is that the prime movers in the feast partake of none of it; the head man may even be engaged in a prolonged fast. When it is all over, and the assembled natives have separated, each with their baskets of flesh and food, then possibly the givers of the feast will kill another pig for themselves and have their turn, but that is not in the official programme.

Dancing is associated with feasting, not only in time and occasion, but also in the fact that the English word has to cover much ground which has very little to do with the English idea. If one goes into a village at night one may see a dozen men standing together, whilst a few in the centre are beating drums. They are all singing a monotonous dirge. One man monotones a few words on a high note, and as he drawls out the last few syllables the others repeat it, and then they draw out their last few notes too. When the last sound has died out the leader starts on another sentence. The language used is not always the same as that ordinarily spoken. Sometimes the party of dancers, as they are called, will simply march up and down an open space in the village backwards and forwards all night. The drums used are large and heavy,

with one end covered with a lizard skin. They are sometimes made more resonant by pellets of beeswax stuck on them, and if they get damp and slack they are dried at the fire. Each district has its own special varieties of dances. A very common one from Bartle Bay to Cape Vogel is called the Gaiore. It is always danced in costume and in daylight. If two ranks of about sixteen men each took right and left turns, all the sixteen on the right half taking a left turn and the sixteen on the left half turning to the right, they would be in the position to start. The two files at the ends and the two in the middle lead the rest. The left-hand end men will come up on each side of the column, pass each other at the other end, the other end men acknowledging their presence by turning round as they cross. Then, as they come down, the right-hand middle men and those behind them will open out and follow them, and the rest of the left column will advance up the space thus made. Arriving at the ends, the outer men will turn in and the inner men at the other end will turn out, and so they will all get back to their positions. During the whole figure the drumming and singing are kept up. Then variations are introduced; the figure is gone through at the double, but silently. The steps, too, are different in different places. The dancing in Collingwood Bay is much more elaborate than in Goodenough Bay. Mamba district is the only place where we have yet found farces acted by clowns dressed up while the dance is proceeding. For these farces great preparations are made in secret beforehand. Huge logs are hollowed out and painted; houses are built and carried bodily on to the dancing ground. Sometimes for three months at a spell the men and boys are engaged in rehearsing the figures and the action of the play. The actors are called spirits, but the whole thing is meant to excite laughter. I have never seen the same performance repeated or the material used a second time. The dancers meanwhile, with small drums but no singing, are continuing their figures somewhat after the style described as the Gaiore. When the farce is over they engage in other figures and at last form a long line, which goes winding in and out like a snake, until it coils itself up in a regular bunch. Then the drums give a different beat.

A few men, who have been holding the big drums unnoticed in the crowd, rush up and join the band and thunder out the time, the song bursts out, and as a spectacle the dance is over ; as a head-splitting performance it is only begun.

Death and Burial.—Gradually the old man sinks down into his grave ; as his powers fail him he tries to recover them by making presents to the mountain doctors, who come and perform their ceremonies over him ; but it is of no use, and he and his people at last realise that he has but a few more hours to live. Tenderly watched by his women-folk, he waits quietly for the great change. Then during the last gasps the women begin wailing, and when the head drops back and the eyes become fixed the whole village takes up the cry. For a young man in the prime of life, for an old man not too old to have lost his grip on the events of the village, the wailing is terrible. The body is oiled and decorated with ornaments. The people hold it in their arms and cry out the dead man's name in his face. "Brother, come back." "Uncle, you are gone." The relations from a distance are sent for. His betel-nut knife is rattled in his face, and all the relations go half-mad with grief. Meanwhile the grave is being dug ; formerly close to the houses in the village, now in the burial ground not far away. It is about four feet deep, and the measurement is taken of the man crouched up with his knees to his chin. Then cocoanut-leaf mats are placed in it, and the sides are also covered, and pandanus-leaf mats are put in. When everything is ready the body is carried in the arms and placed in the grave, lying on its side with its legs crouched up. Ornaments are placed around its neck, and sometimes lime and food are also put in the grave. The mother or the wife tries to throw herself into the grave, and is held back by force by sympathising friends. The wailing is at its noisiest. But the body is covered over with mats, and then earth is quietly pulled in on top until the grave is filled. Sometimes a small platform of sticks is made for the body to rest on, and a sloping roof of sticks is put over it so that the top of the cavity comes near the surface of the ground. In that case the spare earth makes a high mound over the grave. On the Mamba the grave used to be in the dwelling-house, but elsewhere they erect

a shelter over the grave. The grave filled in, the grave-diggers go off to commence their purification, until the completion of which they are accounted unclean. Then the wailing lessens, until at last only the nearest relatives keep it up, sometimes for a day or two, at other times nightly, or at intervals for a month, or a year.

Spirits and the Spirit World.—The natives have some idea of spiritual existence after death. They talk about the place they go to and the life they are to live there—a sort of glorified life on their present lines. At other times they confess that they know of no life after death. In all our mission district there does not seem to be any knowledge or belief of any spirits or beings of a higher order than those “bariawas” that I have mentioned. About the South and East Capes and Normanby Island there is a belief in a spirit named Eaboaine, who is known to be the Creator. It is he who is invoked on various occasions, *e.g.* when the yams are being planted or when a cannibal raid is being started or a new canoe launched. It is he for whom a portion of the feast is reserved. The Samoan teachers in Milne Bay who were translating St. Mark’s Gospel had to consider whether they would speak of God as Eaboaine, and they decided not to do so, because, as they said, Eaboaine is a deity of whom the natives have already some knowledge or belief. The God whom we are preaching to them is one of whom they have not previously heard. On the other hand, the Wesleyan missionaries for several years did adopt Eaboaine as the name for God. Having now discontinued it, they have fallen back on a general word meaning something like Great Chief, which word is also used in the adjacent parts of the L.M.S. district. It is evident, then, that there is little idea of God, as we use the term, in the native mind. The account of Eaboaine is interesting in itself as giving the natives an idea of a Creator apart from man, one who can hear invocations and can help man. It is also interesting as connected with the idea of Boahmi, the Creator, very widely diffused among the Australian tribes.

COPLAND KING.

MEDICAL MISSIONS AND THE UNCTION OF THE SICK.

UNDER this title may be included all the newer developments of efforts for healing, whether promulgated by Churchpeople or those outside, such as Faith healing, Christian science, and various practices of the Peculiar People. Is there any way in which such foreign and semi-religious experiments or practices could be rightly included in, or be recognised by, our medical Missions? And further, if the old rite of the Unction of the Sick is to be revived anywhere, could it not be best introduced, under due authority, in these Missions?

It is a commonplace to say that all sects or divisions in Christendom have arisen through the supposed need of emphasising one truth, or one side of a truth, which has been neglected, or supposed to be neglected, by the Christian Church. The rise of Quakerism and its decline before the fuller preaching of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost is an example of the working of this law. Has Christian science or Faith healing won its way in America and in England because the Church has neglected any practice or doctrine? I venture to suggest that both Christian doctors and Christian clergy have been somewhat in fault, and that, therefore, people have gone elsewhere. There is less resort to the ministrations of the clergy in ordinary sickness now than there used to be even thirty years ago. Doctors do not wish the patient to be disturbed; a visit from the parish priest is dreaded as something of ill omen; the trained nurse has become a beneficent tyrant; science in some hands has no place for religious ministrations. So the parson is not sent for as he used to be. And, on the other hand (may I say it

without being accused of fault-finding?), the clergy are not such diligent house-to-house visitors as they used to be. They do not know their people; and as they do not know them in health, they are not welcomed in sickness. So the quiet prayer by the bedside is not so natural a ministration as formerly, and though there might have been some superstition in the old idea, yet it at least implied the recognition that healing came from God. Have we become too scientific to admit this any longer? Christian science, with its false theology and still falser metaphysics,¹ has nevertheless met a want in human hearts, which in these later days we have been inclined to neglect. It has witnessed at least in a garbled fashion to the power of intercessory prayer. It has emphasised the power of spirit over mind and over matter. It has testified that good is stronger than evil. We may apply to it the old saying: "What is true is not new, and what is new is not true." Its successes have resulted from the modicum of truth mixed up with its newer fallacies, and the right way to oppose it is by a clearer faith and a truer science. We may say the same of the cures wrought at the Grotto at Lourdes and other places. Undoubtedly in many nervous disorders the stirring up of the will assists the recovery of the body, and the calm faith engendered by trust in God's goodness helps the mind to be at peace, and so makes for health. Every doctor and every clergyman would admit this principle. May we not ask them to be more ready to put their principles into practice, so that each may, without intruding into another man's province, take his own part in bodily healing?

There are two movements which at the present time call for our consideration. One is the "Guild of Health," the other the effort to restore the use of Unction in the Church. The first is a body composed of both clergy and laity,² who desire to study the influence of spiritual upon physical well-being, and who would try to restore to the Church the Scriptural practice of Divine healing. The second is best set forth in Father Puller's book on the

¹ See *A Review of Christian Science*, by Margaret Benson.

² The secretary is the Rev. B. S. Lombard, to whom the writer is indebted for information supplied.

anointing of the sick, published by the S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. This book is a masterly review of the whole subject. The author begins by expounding the crucial passage, St. James v. 13-16, as clearly intended to mean a regular ministration by Christian ministers to Christian people of unction for the cure of bodily sickness. He shows that in this passage the spiritual forgiveness of sins is not necessarily connected with the bodily healing, nor with the unction. (See p. 34.)

"I can see no trace in St. James of the idea that the remission of sins is conveyed through the unction to the sick persons who have lapsed through deadly sin into a state of separation from God. The unction is mentioned in connection with the healing and recovery of the sick man from his physical sickness. And St. James implies that in many cases the sick persons will have no need to receive any sacramental remission of sins. It follows that the unction does not normally convey any remission of sins. Nor does St. James suggest that the unction imparts any other sanctifying grace. That minority of sick persons who have fallen into deadly sin are to confess their sins in the presence of the presbyters, and then receive through their ministration the benefit of absolution."

He further points out that this interpretation was not questioned for some six or eight centuries, and gives many quotations from the early fathers of the Church to substantiate his statements. The early liturgies both in the East and in the West bear the same testimony. He gives the text of the prayer for blessing the oil and the water as set forth in the newly discovered sacramentary of St. Serapion of Thmuis in the Nile delta, who was the friend of St. Athanasius,¹ as well as many other quotations from the early liturgies. It may here be mentioned that both in this prayer and in the writings of the Venerable Bede we find that the *oleum infirmorum* was used in cases of demoniacal possession.

Father Puller also gives a number of historical instances of the administration of unction to the sick, showing that the practice was fairly common in the early ages of the Church's history. He mentions some twenty instances in all, where holy men of old have administered unction, of

¹ P. 80, *op. cit.*

whom the best known are St. Martin, St. Hilarion, St. Symeon Stylites, St. German, and St. Cuthbert. And in most cases their biographies were written by contemporary historians. His own summary of the matter is worth quoting.

"It may be shown that from the time of the apostles onwards, during the first seven centuries of our era, the custom of praying over sick people and anointing them with holy oil continued without any break. And there seems to be good reason for believing that in many cases the petitions that were offered were granted, and that the holy oil was used by God as a channel for conveying health to the sick persons. It is, of course, possible or even probable that in some of these cases the cure was effected by the ordinary recuperative forces of nature, and in other cases doubts may be raised as to the credibility of the witnesses. Those cases only are given in which the evidence seemed to be contemporary or nearly contemporary. It is not easy to understand the theory which admits supernatural cures in the apostolic age, but denies the truth of all similar cures in later ages. Certainly the Church was wholly unconscious of any such change. And if the later evidence is set aside on some *a priori* ground, it is hard to see how the earlier evidence can stand."¹

Then in the ninth century comes the great change. The whole idea of unction for healing purposes ceases, and the present Roman doctrine of extreme unction *in articulo mortis* takes its place. Father Puller is inclined to believe: "that it was through the influence of either Charles (the Great) or Lewis (the Pious), or at any rate with the full sanction of one or other of them, that the Jacobean Unction of the early Christian ages became transformed in the West into the sacramental Unction of the later middle ages."²

And he quotes a *capitulaire* of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, an intimate friend of the Emperor Charles, and one of his chief theological advisers, which he considers was issued between the years 813 and 818.

It is not necessary to quote more from this interesting book, though the whole work is full of sound scholarship and deep piety. But I would emphasise his plea for the revival of the practice of Unction in the Church to-day. Individual clergy during the last

¹ Pp. 188, 189, *op. cit.*

² See p. 215.

200 years, both at home and abroad, have practised it. In the life of the Chinese Pastor Hsi, there are notices of his having exercised a gift of healing through the laying-on of his hands. Prayers for the temporal healing of the sick we all use. The practice of Unction rests on sound Scriptural warrant, and is a catholic custom that can stand the test of the "first six centuries." Ought the Church to continue to neglect this plain apostolic command? Of course we must wait till the Bishops give authority for the introduction of any new practice. But amongst the many subjects which will be discussed at the next Lambeth Conference in 1908, may we venture to express a hope that the advisability of the revival of this practice may be included?

It is hardly necessary to spend time in showing that the Scriptural precept and the practice of the early Church are far removed from the "corrupt following of the apostles" as set forth in the doctrine of extreme Unction condemned in Article XXV. That doctrine, which rests on the assumption that the Unction of the sick imparts sanctifying grace, was (in the words of Father Puller)

"based upon a misunderstanding of the teaching of St. James, and being based on a misunderstanding, the most subtle intellects among the schoolmen have failed to reconcile it either with St. James or with the general teaching of the Church on the central doctrine of the remission of sins. The result is that the schoolmen differ hopelessly among themselves as to what the primary object and effect of the supposed sacrament of Unction is" (p. 240).

It is but fair, perhaps, to remark that while our Reformers removed the service for the ministration of sacramental Unction out of the Prayer-book, there was a grotesque "following" which was suffered to remain. The service for the "healing for the King's Evil" is included in various editions of the Prayer-book from the time of Charles I. down to 1719. On the other hand, the nonjurors re-inserted the form of anointing in their Prayer-book of 1718, though not following the form which was in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. There is one survival of the true doctrine of spiritual healing remaining in our Prayer-book. At the central moment of a Bishop's consecration,

he is solemnly adjured to "heal the sick." To regard this part of the charge as merely metaphorical seems hardly an adequate way of looking at it.

But from a missionary point of view the subject deserves special consideration. The rise and growth of medical Missions is a development of the last few decades, though we have been lately reminded that this is but a revival of an earlier policy, and that the use of medicine as an aid to evangelisation was preached and practised in the tenth century by Raymond Lull. However that may be, medical Missions are now firmly established. Even the bitterest opponents of the ordinary methods of missionaries have nothing but good to say of medical Missions. They appeal to all classes, they are being used by all sections of the Church. Here then, if anywhere, in our Mission dispensaries, and Mission hospitals, we have every opportunity for closely associating the healing of the sick with prayer. Here, if anywhere, there should be no divorce between science and religion. While we insist most strongly that no medical missionary (whether man or woman) be allowed to practise unless he (or she) is fully trained, we also insist most emphatically that the duly-qualified doctor should be full of the Holy Ghost. Here, then, we should expect prayer to be offered "without doubting," and that not only in general, but specific prayers for specific cases. Here, too, we should expect cures to be effected which might appear almost miraculous. Here, at least, the power of God would be evoked, recognised, admitted, looked for, and expected as in no other place. So, even without the ceremony of Unction (though the Church ought probably to re-introduce this also), spiritual forces would be employed, Faith healing would be recognised, the whole atmosphere would be surcharged with the "powers of the world to come." If we believe in God's faithfulness to His Word, must we not without superstition or fanaticism look for plain, tangible results?

There is one special class of disease where the practice of healing as a religious ceremony (with or without Unction) would be specially useful, that is those numerous cases of *demoniacal possession*, which are seldom reported or mentioned in published reports of missionary societies. Un-

doubtedly many sane and skilful observers do meet at times in heathen lands with curious cases, which cannot be classed as ordinary cases of mania, but correspond very closely in their symptoms, their outcries, and their cure with the instances recorded in the Gospels. There is no doubt a two-fold danger, on the one hand of being led away by excitement and an unscientific readiness to see supernaturalism everywhere, and on the other hand of being ready to deny all spiritual forces whatever. It is in our medical Missions that we should look for careful observation, wise science, openness of mind, and firm faith in the unseen world. And if, after strict investigation and careful inquiry, there seems to be something behind, which cannot be classified under any known form of disease, the facts should be reported without prejudice, or fear of the ridicule of the ignorant. If the stories which are told will bear investigation, there seems to remain a large number of instances which can only be classed as cases of demoniacal possession. It is in such cases that the best curative treatment for the poor body and the troubled mind would seem to be the ministry of the Word of God and of prayer. Why should not a solemn anointing with oil in the Name of the Lord have effect? It rests on the firm rock of an apostolic command recorded in a canonical book of Holy Scripture. It could (if introduced by authority) be separated from all unworthy accretions which gathered round it in the Middle Ages. It might be wiser, as Father Puller suggests, to have no petitions for sanctifying graces in any of the prayers sanctioned for use, either during the anointing itself or by way of immediate preparation for it, thus preventing the Romish idea that grace is imparted sacramentally through the oil as a preparation for death. But, with these and other safeguards, where is the objection to permitting the introduction of the practice, specially in the favourable atmosphere of our medical Missions, where faith and science work hand-in-hand for the healing of those who are afflicted and distressed in both mind and body?

We admit and foresee the dangers, dangers of supposed magic, dangers of the re-introduction of the idea of charms, the danger that if the cure is not effected the failure may

be used as a proof of the falsity of our gospel. There will be dangers, too, on the side of the believer, of hysteria, or irreverence, or noisy insistence, which will occur to us all. But, in spite of all this, the fact remains that in Scripture disease is ascribed to Satan, that healing is a gift of God, a *χάρισμα* committed to His Church, and that the influence of mind over matter, of spirit over body, and of spirit over spirit, is far greater than we can conceive, and that nothing that can be urged against a belief in the use of Unction cannot also be urged against a belief in the power of prayer. All prayers are not granted as we wish. All cures are not effected, or we should never die. But none the less men pray everywhere, and we should be the last to throw ridicule on their efforts. Neither does the belief that disease is contrary to the will of God prevent us from recognising that suffering often has a purifying influence. If God can over-rule the designs of wicked men so that they carry out His purpose without thereby lessening the guilt of the wicked doers of the deed, can we not also recognise that He can over-rule the suffering of the body for the soul's good without falling into the error of attributing the sickness to Him as the *causa causans*?

In conclusion we would urge that in our medical Missions there should be room for the best kind of Faith-healing, which has its foundation on the will of God; and the best kind of Christian science, where both adjective and substantive receive due emphasis; and lastly (if the Church by its Bishops will so order) the right use of Unction, which remains as a Scriptural command, though neglected in its right meaning for 1,000 years, and perverted from its original intention by a large portion of the Church.

W. OSBORN B. ALLEN.

ARE MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS JUSTIFIABLE ?

"If you will only organise Missions to the heathen in my province, instead of attempting to convert Mohammedans, I will do everything in my power to further and support them, but I cannot approve or allow, at any rate at present, the opening of a Mission to the Mohammedans."

These words, which were recently addressed to the writer by an earnest Christian Englishman, governor of a province in the British Empire, represent the attitude of a large number of intelligent Christians, who are most anxious to support Missions to the heathen, but who object on principle to spending time, labour, and money upon a Christian Mission to Mohammedans while there are still millions of degraded heathen in the world who have never been evangelised. The argument most commonly used by them is as follows : Mohammedanism has done a great deal in the past to raise native races, in various parts of Asia and Africa, from the lowest stages of ignorance and degradation, and has taught them many important truths in regard to the unity and majesty of God. Islam is, as Dante long ago recognised, rather a Christian heresy than a denial of the Christian Faith. If we feel that it would be wrong to divert efforts which might otherwise be made to convert the heathen in order to teach what we believe to be the true faith to other heretics, is it not equally wrong to attempt to convert Mohammedans as long as there are countless numbers of heathen as yet untouched ?

This reasoning is often employed by those whose self-denying lives and whose genuine anxiety to assist in spreading a knowledge of God's love amongst the heathen forbid us for a moment to doubt their sincerity. Many of

the opponents of Missions to Mohammedans are quite as vigorous supporters of foreign Missions as are those who believe most strongly in the duty of the Christian Church to send Missions to Mohammedans. Much unchristian bitterness has sometimes been engendered by a failure to recognise this fact.

The answer to this argument is not to be found in the command of our Lord to make disciples of all nations, for the question under discussion is not whether we should refuse to preach the Gospel at all to Mohammedans, but whether we are justified in neglecting the heathen, as we must do to some extent, in order to send Missions to the Mohammedans.

Perhaps the most helpful way in which to approach the question is by a consideration of the historic parallel to the present relation of Islam to Christianity which is afforded by the early history of Christianity. At the time when Missions for the spread of the Christian Faith were first attempted the vast majority of the inhabitants of the world were sunk in ignorance and superstition, and without any teachers capable of enlightening them. There were, however, at least two countries to which this description could not be applied, viz. Greece and Italy. In both these countries there had been, and still were, teachers whose knowledge of God would compare with the knowledge possessed by the teachers of Islam in the present day. To take a single example, there was in the city of Rome at the time when St. Paul was living there a man named Epictetus, four books of whose discourses have come down to us. From them we gather that he was a stern preacher of righteousness, whose one aim was to teach men not how to think correctly, but how to live well. His creed bore a striking resemblance to that of the best type of the Mohammedans of to-day. He believed in the unity and majesty of God, that apart from the will of God there is nothing either good or bad, and that in darkness and solitude man is never alone, because God is with him and within him. He believed, even as the Mohammedans of to-day believe, that all things were governed by unalterable fate, which it behoved man to accept without murmuring, and against which it was in any

case vain to contend. In some respects his teaching was in advance of that of Islam, for he taught that all men are the sons of God and of kindred nature to that of the Divinity.

The following extracts from the teachings of Epictetus challenge comparison with the teaching of Mohammed. In some instances they approach more nearly to the teaching of Christ than any extracts relating to the same truths which can be produced from the Koran. "Do not plume yourself," says Epictetus, "on an intelligent knowledge of philosophy which is quite valueless, but on a consistent nobleness of action. Never relax your efforts, but aim at perfection." We may contrast with this the importance which Islam attributes to right opinion compared with which right action is of the smallest account.

In the next saying of Epictetus we have a true though indistinct recognition of the reality of sin: "If you wish to be good, first believe that you are bad." By Mohammed sin was regarded as an infraction of the arbitrary decree of God, and there was for him no absolute or unalterable distinction between right and wrong.

Again, Epictetus said, "What ought not to be done do not even think of doing." It would be hard to find in the teaching of Mohammed any statement which so nearly approached the teaching of Christ when He declared that the thoughts of a man's heart were more to be feared as a source of defilement than the failure to observe any outward or ceremonial law.

When Epictetus was asked how a man could grieve his enemy, he replied: "By preparing himself to act in the noblest way." We may contrast with this the license to seek revenge upon his enemies which Mohammed claimed to have been allowed him by God.

As we listen to yet another quotation from Epictetus it is hard to persuade ourselves that we are not listening to the words of a Christian teacher, or even to the Apostle Paul himself. The words breathe an atmosphere altogether different from the atmosphere of Islam. Epictetus says: "If you always remember that in all you do in soul or body God stands by as a witness in all your prayers and your actions, you will not err, and you shall have God dwelling with you." Again, "When you have closed your

doors and made darkness within, remember never to say that you are alone. For you are not alone ; God too is present there."

Epictetus was only one of several philosophers who believed and taught thus in Rome in the days when Christian Missions were first introduced there. Another Stoic philosopher who was living in Rome at the time of St. Paul's visit was Seneca. He was the younger brother of the Roman judge Gallio, before whom St. Paul had been brought at Corinth. So closely do some parts of his teaching resemble the teaching of St. Paul that a forged correspondence between himself and the Apostle had come into existence as early as the time of Jerome. It would be easy to institute a comparison between much of his teaching and the teaching of Islam which would be highly favourable to Seneca.

Let us endeavour to imagine an intelligent Roman citizen, who had been instructed in the teachings of Epictetus or Seneca, meeting St. Paul or one of the early missionaries to Rome. On learning the object for which he had come—viz. to impart to the citizens of Rome a truer and more complete knowledge of God than they already possessed—how natural would it have been for him to use the identical arguments which are so often used against the prosecution of Missions to Mohammedans to-day ! Might he not have urged that whereas the greater part of the then known world was lying in heathen darkness, in Rome and in one or two of the cities of Greece (which St. Paul had visited before he came to Rome) God had granted to philosophers, and through them to their disciples and readers, a knowledge of Himself which he, St. Paul, would have been the first to recognise as divinely given ? Surely, he would have urged, the right course to adopt, in the interest of Christian Missions, is to leave those whose knowledge of God is so much greater than that of all others, and to preach the Gospel in the first instance to those whose need is most urgent.

We may safely assume that St. Paul was confronted with an argument of this kind, and probably on more than one occasion.

If we can judge at all as to what reply he gave from

his speech to the Epicureans at Athens, he would have pointed out that it was those who had already learnt to feel after God, if haply they might find Him, and whose knowledge of God was altogether superior to that of the less developed races around them, who had the first claim to have the Gospel preached to them.

The mere fact that they were unconscious of their needs did not in any degree abate the Apostle's eagerness or alter the conviction which he had expressed: "I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel . . . in Rome."

Whatever may have been the argument by which he justified his action, his action itself was clear and resolute. With very few exceptions he followed the course of Greek or Roman civilisation, using the Roman roads and preaching as a rule to those who had already come under Greek or Roman influence. The final result has been that the light of the Christian Faith has radiated from Rome and Greece, more especially from the former, and has influenced not only what were then the barbarous nations of central and northern Europe, but many other countries of which St. Paul had never heard.

The first answer then which we should be disposed to make to the man who objects to sending Missions to Mohammedans to-day is that in undertaking Missions to Mohammedans we are acting in accordance with the same principles which governed the action of St. Paul.

Some of those who deprecate Missions to Mohammedans to-day would be prepared to say that St. Paul was mistaken, and that he would have made a better use of his time if he had spent it in preaching the Gospel to the savage tribes who then inhabited central and northern Europe.

But those of us who believe that St. Paul was indeed guided, as he professed to have been, by the Spirit of God to follow the course which he actually pursued, and which resulted in the eventual evangelisation of our own islands, have surely no ground for objecting to missionary work which is conducted on the same lines and with the same object in view—viz. to reach the less developed races

through the instrumentality of those races which have already received a large measure of divine revelation.

The position in which the modern missionary is placed who has to decide between work amongst Mohammedans and amongst the heathen is strictly analogous to that in which St. Paul was placed in the later years of his life, when he had to decide between spending his energies upon the cultured peoples of Greece, Italy, and the coast towns of Asia Minor or undertaking work amongst the races which resemble the heathen races of to-day. Every intelligent missionary who has made any careful study of Mohammedanism is prepared to thank God for the large measure of truth which He has revealed to Mohammedans, and to admit that they possess a knowledge of God to which no heathen race in the world has attained ; but the recognition of this fact, instead of rendering him content to leave his Mohammedan brother to himself, will make him the more eager to help him to a fuller and completer knowledge. He will recall the words of his divine Master : " He that hath, to him shall be given," and will realise that the appropriation of the measure of divine truth of which the Mohammedan has shown himself capable implies his capacity for receiving more, and at the same time constitutes his claim to have a further measure of truth presented to him.

There are, however, some of those who are opposed to Missions to Mohammedans who would be prepared to accept all that has been said, and to admit that if St. Paul were with us to-day he would recognise the paramount obligation to preach the Gospel to the followers of Islam. Nevertheless, they feel that they cannot conscientiously help to support any existing Missions to Mohammedans. The difficulty which they feel might be expressed thus. They would say to us : We are quite prepared to grant that there is no theoretical objection to preaching the Christian Faith to Mohammedans, and, if there was a reasonable prospect of their listening to or accepting it, we would have nothing more to say ; but after all it is a practical age in which we live, and we cannot ignore the fact that the Missions to Mohammedans which have been carried on for many years past have produced but the smallest visible

results. Our real objection to such Missions is based not so much upon the undesirability as upon the impossibility of converting Mohammedans to Christianity. Did not Christ Himself authorise the abandonment of effort to preach to those who deliberately rejected the message when He said "When they persecute you in this city flee into the next"? Is there any Mohammedan city in the world where the Gospel has been preached in which the persecution of Christians which has resulted has not justified the cessation of further effort and the transference of the work to some more receptive people? In considering the bearing and application of this argument it is impossible to deny that Missions to Mohammedans have been singularly lacking in visible results as compared with those which have been carried on amongst the heathen. But before we draw the suggested inference we need to enquire under what conditions have these Missions to Mohammedans been carried on? Have they been carried on under similar external conditions to those which prevail in the countries where Missions to the heathen have been most successful?

The answer to the question is that until quite recently they have, with but one exception, been carried on in the presence of a continuous and relentless persecution, compared with which the persecutions of the early Christians in the second and third centuries were spasmodic and trivial. To abandon the faith of Islam for that of Christianity to-day in any Mohammedan country outside India is to court not only persecution, but death at the hands either of the government or the people. When travelling in Asia Minor, I was told by one who had witnessed the baptism of some thirty Mohammedans that on each occasion the man baptized had to flee for his life. On one occasion within recent years a Turkish sheikh at Constantinople was induced, as the result of studying the New Testament, to embrace the Christian Faith. He and more than a dozen of his followers who were prepared to do the same were put in prison, and the whole number were poisoned.

Mohammedan rulers have always regarded the conversion to Christianity of a Mohammedan as an act of

treason. It is this close connection between Islam and the exercise of political sovereignty which accounts for the dread which Mohammedans have always entertained lest this political power should be taken from them. On one occasion whilst travelling across Mesopotamia I had lost my way at night, and found myself eventually in a hamlet of Kurdish brigands where I spent the night in the hut of the headman. One of the first questions which the Kurdish headman had to ask, as soon as he discovered the nationality of his guest, was: When are the English going to leave Egypt, and by what right had a Christian country interfered with a Mohammedan Government? The interference seemed to him, in his far away obscure hamlet, not a political but a religious act, or rather crime.

As long as Mohammedan Powers exist we cannot expect that Christian Missions to Mohammedans will have a reasonable chance of obtaining an impartial hearing, still less that they can be carried on under external conditions as favourable as those which exist in the Missions to the heathen.

There is, however, one country in the world where within quite recent years it has been possible for Mohammedans to embrace Christianity without incurring anything worse than the loss of all their friends and of their livelihood. After centuries of contest on unequal terms elsewhere Christianity and Islam have at last met on a field where, thanks to the strong arm of an impartial Government, the balance between their opposing claims can no longer be turned, as has so often been the case in the past, by the addition of the sword of Islam. Of the Christian missionaries now working in India only a minute proportion are working amongst Mohammedans. Nevertheless it is already possible to point to several results of their labours such as must appeal to every student of Missions. In the Punjaub and Sindh at the present moment there are nineteen native clergy who have received Anglican Orders. Of these ten are converts from Islam. Out of 555 native converts to Christianity who were baptized in the town of Amritsar between 1852 and 1883, 253 were converts from Islam. In a paper

written by Dr. Imad-ud-din (who himself belonged to one of the most illustrious Mohammedan families in the world), which was sent to be read at the conference on religions held at Chicago at the time of the Exhibition, the writer asserts that converts from Islam to Christianity "have come, and are coming, in their thousands." It may be suggested that these are the words of a man who would naturally be prejudiced against the religion he had abandoned. This objection cannot weaken the force of the evidence contained in a list which he supplied of a hundred converts from Islam to Christianity who are now occupying influential positions both in the State and in the Church in India. One of the hundred names is that of a direct descendant of Mohammed himself.

We have not space to give any further illustrations of the effect which the preaching of Christianity is producing upon Mohammedanism in India at the present time; but we are convinced that evidence is available to establish the fact that in view of the very short time which has elapsed since Christianity and Islam met on an equal field, it is very far from being true that Missions to Mohammedans are and will be a failure.

There is one country where the question whether Christian Missions to Mohammedans should be encouraged or discouraged has a practical interest at the present time. We refer to the African Soudan. The name is applied to the whole of Central Africa north of the equator and south of the Great Desert, reaching from the Red Sea on the east to the Atlantic on the west. The greater part of this vast district—itsself larger than the continent of Europe—has long been closed to Europeans, and therefore to European missionaries. Within the last few years a large part of the eastern Soudan and half a million square miles in the western Soudan have come under English political influence. Several English missionary Societies have made preliminary arrangements to establish work both in the eastern and western Soudan.

The question which presents itself alike to missionary Societies and to those who are responsible for the political government of the western Soudan is different from that

which is presented in most of the other countries where Mohammedanism is represented.

There are not a few who are interested in the well-being of the peoples of West Africa who argue that Islam is the form of religion best suited to the native of that country, and the religion which, if we take into consideration his past history, will in the long run most certainly raise him in the scale of civilisation and of morality. If we were concerned only with the immediate future of the West African native, it would be difficult to see how such an argument as this could be met; but if, in the light of past history, we have regard to the well-being not merely of the present but of the next and all succeeding generations, we shall view with increasing dissatisfaction the further spread of Islam in West Africa. Our reason for doing so will be this. Mohammedan progress is, to all intents, progress up an *impasse*. Heathen races which accept Islam are thereby enabled to advance a little way in the upward path of civilisation only to find their further progress checked by an impassable wall of fanaticism and prejudice. It is sometimes assumed that Mohammedanism is capable of introducing to heathen races the degree of civilisation which prevails to-day amongst the Mohammedans of North Africa, Turkey, or Western Asia. But a study of past history affords no warrant for such a conclusion. Prior to the advent of Islam the greater part of the inhabitants of these countries were Christians. Moreover these countries have been so long in contact with European civilisation that it is impossible to say what benefits, if any, they have gained from Islam which would not otherwise have come to them.

The one country where it is possible to estimate the abiding effect of Islam upon a people upon whom no other strong influence has been exerted is the fountain source of Islam—the country of Arabia. Here Islam has for nearly 1,300 years exerted its influence undisturbed by the preaching of any other religion. What Arabia is to-day we may therefore fairly expect West Africa to become in a thousand years or more from the present time. What, then, is the present condition of Arabia and of Mecca in particular? Palgrave, who spent the greater

part of his life amongst Mohammedans, and who was so far in sympathy with them that on more than one occasion he conducted service in their mosques, gives it as his opinion that the Arabs of Mecca and Medina—the two cities visited by pilgrims—are notorious above all other Arabs for their evil living. “The torch burns dark at its foot” is the Eastern proverb used to account for this acknowledged fact. After referring to the decreasing hold which Islam has upon Arabia, Palgrave says: “When the Koran and Mecca shall have disappeared from Arabia, then and then only can we expect to see the Arab assume that place in the ranks of civilisation from which Mohammed and his book have more than any other cause long held him back.”¹

Unless, therefore, we are prepared to contemplate with equanimity the prospect of African civilisation being a thousand years hence on a level with the Arabian civilisation of to-day, we cannot look with other than grave apprehension on the progress, whether great or small, which Islam is making in West Africa at the present time; nor can we refuse to lend our active support to the only enterprise which can check the spread of Islam and which is represented by the Christian Missions.

To sum up in a few sentences what has been said, we believe—

(a) That the sending of Missions to Mohammedan countries to-day is justified by the close analogy which has been shown to exist between such action and that of the first and greatest of Christian missionaries, the Apostle St. Paul.

(b) That in view of the results which Christian Missions have achieved during the last twenty or thirty years during which Christianity and Islam have met on equal terms it is impossible any longer to maintain that Missions to Mohammedans are impracticable.

(c) That in the case of the lowest races in Africa or elsewhere the preaching of Islam is to be deplored as tending to place a serious obstacle to the ultimate progress of the people by whom it is accepted.

CHARLES H. ROBINSON.

¹ *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, by W. G. Palgrave, vol. i. p. 175.

EDITORIAL.

Introductions to our readers. THE first article is by Dr. Jacobs, the Bishop of St. Albans. He was domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta from

1872 to 1876. Since then he has been well known as a student of Missions and as a supporter of missionary work.

The Bishop of Worcester, or Bishop of Birmingham as he will be by the time this issue of the Review is in circulation, has also had some experience of work in India in connection with the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.

The Bishop of Madras (Dr. Whitehead), who writes on the "Future of Christianity in India," was formerly head of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. He has thus had experience of Indian Christianity in two different parts of India which are as widely separated in thought as they are in distance.

The Rev. Daniel Robertson, who writes on Manchuria, has been for the last fourteen years a missionary attached to the Scottish United Free Church in Manchuria. He was at work in Manchuria during the Chino-Japanese war and during the Boxer rising. It is interesting to note that he regards Manchuria not as a loosely connected province, which is out of touch with the Chinese Empire proper, but as the province in that Empire which is beginning to exert the most far-reaching influence upon the Chinese race.

Colonel Montgomery, a brother of the Secretary of the S.P.G., and son of the late Sir Robert Montgomery of the Punjab, is at present a member of the Indian Staff Corps and the Settlement Commissioner in the Punjab. He was instrumental in arranging the details of the first Christian settlement which was formed in that province.

The Rev. R. Eubank will be known to readers of THE EAST AND THE WEST as the author of the article on "Russian Missions in Asia and America," which was published in our April issue last year. Trustworthy information in regard to the Missions of the Roman Church is so difficult to obtain that we feel sure our readers will be grateful for the careful sketch which is here given.

The Rev. Copland King formed one of the first party who started the English Church Mission in New Guinea fourteen years ago. He has been working there ever since. His description of native customs is of special interest, as it is drawn from his experience amongst natives who had never come into touch with a white man. These old New Guinea customs are being gradually modified or swept away by the encroachment of civilisation, and we are grateful to anyone who can to some extent perpetuate them in writing for the information of those who can never study them at first hand.

The Rev. O. Allen is the well-known Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The subject about which he writes is one of which we shall hear much ere many years have passed.

*Suicide in Japan
and Christian
Missions.*

A LETTER from a Japanese writer, recently inserted in the *Times*, urges Christian missionaries to reconsider their position and teaching in regard to the sinfulness of *harikari*, which is the Japanese form of suicide. The writer argues that if it be a praiseworthy act to advance in time of war amid a hail of bullets, and with the certain knowledge of approaching death, it cannot be wrong for an individual to commit suicide in order to avoid disgracing himself by falling into the hands of the enemy. He further points out that the teaching of the missionaries in regard to *harikari* is the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity in his country. It is impossible not to feel sympathy with the writer and others in Japan who are afraid lest the teaching of Christianity should tend to lower the standard of national honour, and the more so because we believe that such fears are altogether groundless.

Christianity does not forbid a man to sacrifice his life in order to ward off dishonour from another or from his countrymen in general. What it does do is to forbid anyone to sacrifice his life in the hope of avoiding disgrace or securing honour for himself. The tendency of Shintooism is to merge the life of the individual in the life of the nation; the effect of Christian teaching should be to add to the teaching of Shintooism in regard to the solidarity of the race the equally important teaching as to the value and responsibility of the individual soul. We quite agree that the Japanese could ill afford to lose the sense of national unity and of obligation on the part of every individual to sacrifice himself for the good of his nation, which Shintooism, little claim though it has to be regarded as a religion or a religious force, has nevertheless done so much to develop. The day will undoubtedly come when the Japanese will understand that their recognition of the solidarity of the race and of the duties which this recognition entails, so far from being inconsistent with the faith of Christ, is necessarily involved in a true understanding of that faith.

*Thoughts by
Bishop
Creighton.*

ONE of the most suggestive remarks in the extremely interesting life of Bishop Creighton which has recently been published is that which is attributed to the Bishop on more than one occasion, to the effect that the really important thing, as far as any individual man is concerned, is not what he thinks or does but what is his attitude towards life. Bishop Creighton regarded this as the truest test of the influence of Christianity on the character of the individual. It would be equally true to say that this is the truest gauge of the influence of Christianity on a race. As we apply this test to the influence which Christianity is exerting in India, we realise how much reason there is for encouragement from the missionary standpoint. It is quite true that amongst the Mohammedans and the higher castes of the Hindus the number of professing Christians is comparatively small, but if the well-nigh unanimous testimony of intelligent

government officials and of missionaries be accepted the attitude of vast numbers of Mohammedans and Hindus towards life has already undergone a radical change. This change of attitude affords us more reason for gratitude than would an indefinite number of conversions and baptisms, for it involves a new and fuller recognition of the seriousness of life and of the reality of sin. It raises the ideal and standard of the individual life, and by doing so prepares the way for the acceptance of the Christian standard, *i.e.* of the standard of the life of Christ. Judged by this standard, namely, the realisation of the seriousness of life, some natives of India, who would not call themselves Christians, are nevertheless nearer the kingdom of God than are some of the professing Christians, in whose case a change of religion has meant little more than a change of opinion and of outward observances.

REVIEWS.

Indian Education. Fourth quinquennial Review, 1897-8, 1901-2.
2 folio vols. Published at the Office of the Director-General
of Education in India. Edited by R. Nathan, C.I.E. Price
10s. 6d.

THE quinquennial reviews of Indian education owe their origin to the Education Commission of 1882, and the fourth of the series, dealing with the years 1897-8, 1901-2, forms an appendix in some ways to the monumental series of Indian census reports which have lately appeared. The report is exhaustive ; everything except theology finds a place in its pages. Primary and secondary schools, arts-colleges, and colleges of law, medicine, science, engineering, agriculture, training colleges and normal schools, schools of art, industrial schools, reformatories, and many other institutions are described and tabulated in full detail. And on the basis of this report the Government of India has issued a resolution of the first importance, initiating many and radical changes which require separate consideration.

There are two systems of education in India, the one of Western origin, exotic, utilitarian and secular, which, under the *ægis* of Government, occupies almost the entire field ; the other is indigenous, and the history of Indian education is the history of the gradual supercession of the latter by the former. There have always been learned schools in India from the Vedic period downwards. Benares and Kashmir preserved the traditions of Sanscrit literature and philosophy throughout the middle ages, and the fame of the Arabic schools of Jaunpur and Khairabad attracted scholars from the heart of Asia. Some of these indigenous schools still survive. Students resort from great distances to Benares and Navadwip (in Bengal) to study Sanscrit grammar, literature, philosophy, and the sacred law. In the little town of Deoband, within sight of the Himalayan snows, there exists a Mohammedan university, somewhat of the type of El-Azhar at Cairo, where learned Moulvies teach Islamic theology and canon law, for the love of God, to ragged students who subsist on alms.

Besides such seats of the higher learning there are nearly 2,000 grammar schools, mostly in Bengal, with 22,000 pupils ; and over 2,000 schools for Arabic and Persian, with 37,000 pupils in Northern India. The motive in all cases is religious, even when religion is not directly taught, and the teaching is gratuitous, the scholar being usually supported by the master.

The earliest efforts of Indian administrators were directed to the maintenance and improvement of the higher Oriental learning. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta *Madrasah*, and a Sanscrit College was founded at Benares by Jonathan Duncan in 1791. But in the early part of the nineteenth century the native community began to demand instruction in English and in European learning ; and the Baptist missionaries of Serampore and the Scotch Presbyterian missionaries were some of the first to meet the demand. The colleges which the latter founded in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, still rank among the foremost in India. The Government also established colleges, and at length in 1854 the Court of Directors issued a dispatch (the work of J. S. Mill) which laid the foundations of the present system. Higher education, for which there was a genuine demand, attracted special attention from the beginning, and in 1857 Universities were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The University of Lahore was added in 1882, that of Allahabad in 1887. The turn of elementary education came later. Various local governments and private individuals had done it even before the dispatch of 1854, but it was not until 1872 that it made much headway, and its progress in the various Provinces has been very unequal.

The present report deals with the whole of British India, Assam, and Burma, an area equal to three-fifths of Europe, occupied by a population of 240 millions. These 240 millions are composed of several races, professing many different creeds, speaking a multitude of languages and dialects, and representing every stage of civilisation from the lowest to the highest. Of the 240 millions 140 millions dwell in the great plains between the Himalayas and the Vindhya ; the huge Province of Bengal alone has a population of 73 millions, as much almost as Madras, Bombay, and the Central Provinces put together.

The total number of children of a school-going age throughout this area is reckoned at 36 millions, of whom rather more than four-and-a-half millions (*i.e.*, 4,100,000 boys and 450,000 girls) attend a school of some sort. Bengal contributes over one-third of the total, Madras and Bombay between them nearly one-third more, while the United Provinces and the Punjab with a larger proportion contribute less than one-seventh. There are over three million Hindus, less than one million of Mohammedans,

300,000 Burmese and Buddhists, 130,000 native Christians, and 31,000 Europeans and Eurasians.

Going further, we shall find that the general diffusion of education in the different Provinces is very various. In Madras and Bombay over 11 per cent. of the male population can read and write, and in the one case 11, in the other 9 males out of every 1,000 are said to know some English. Bengal is not far behind. All the other Provinces except Burma come far short of these, but curiously enough the Punjab is ahead of the United Provinces both as regards vernacular education and English. In Burma a knowledge of English is rare, but no less than two-fifths of the Buddhist men and 45 out of every 1,000 of the women can sign their names. These variations are due partly to the habits of the people, partly to the history of education in the past. Madras and Bombay owe much to European and especially to missionary influence from the times of the Jesuits downwards. In Bengal education for boys has long been popular. When a well-to-do landlord or trader engages a tutor for his sons, he readily admits the children of respectable neighbours who contribute to the cost; and thus a school arises. In Burma, Buddhist monks regard teaching as a duty, and pious laymen look upon it as a work of merit. The education of girls is not looked on with disfavour, and Burmese girls have more liberty than Indian ones. In Northern India, the centre of the Mogul power and of Indian history, Mohammedan influences have prevailed, and they are unfavourable to any kind of popular schools except religious ones.

Of the four and a half millions at school, 3,900,000 are in public institutions, that is to say, in schools either supported by or aided from public funds, or which comply with the Government's requirements and the Government curriculum, and are therefore recognised by the Educational Department. The remaining 600,000 are in private schools—schools held in a mosque or temple courtyard, or it may be in the teacher's house or garden. About two-thirds of these schools are indigenous schools which fail to come up to the Government standard; many of them are in Burma. The rest represent religious institutions, Koran schools, schools of the higher Oriental learning and the like. The figures for these private schools are uncertain, the schools often have little permanence, and their methods are generally antiquated. They are of little educational value, and as the report gives no further information regarding them, we shall confine our remarks to the public institutions, which are attended by 3,900,000 children: 3,200,000 are in primary schools, 622,000 in secondary ones, 22,000 (of whom 17,000 are art students) attend a college, and other institutions claim the rest. The primary schools, both higher and lower, correspond more or

less to our Board schools, and the teaching in them is in the local vernacular. But in the higher education there is a considerable difference. English in India occupies the place which Latin occupied in a mediæval university. It is taught chiefly through the vernacular in a large number of secondary schools, and in colleges it is the sole medium of instruction. Now one of the chief features in the history of Indian education is the increasing popularity of English, and one of its chief defects is that the student comes to college without any adequate colloquial knowledge of the language, and has to struggle with an unknown subject in a half-learned tongue. Notwithstanding this it is popular. A demand for it arose in the early part of the nineteenth century, and the demand for it increases daily. This is especially seen in the attendance at arts colleges. In 1887 there were 8,764 arts students, 14,420 in 1897, and 17,651 in 1902. The number of arts colleges has increased with this increase. No less than 30 first-class arts colleges were founded between 1882-1892, and 25 (although none of much importance) within the last quinquennium. There are now 140 of these institutions. If we turn to the secondary schools, we find the same phenomenon. English was taught in 1897 in 2,760 secondary schools to 339,704 pupils. In 1902 there were 3,097 such schools, while the number of scholars had risen to 422,187, an increase of nearly 25 per cent. in five years.

Vernacular education, on the other hand, has come nearly to a standstill. Primary education was first seriously taken up by Government in 1872, and during the next decade the number of schools rose from 16,473 to 82,916, and the number of scholars from 600,000 to over 2 millions. Ten years later, in 1892, there were 97,109 schools and 2,887,000 pupils; in 1897, 97,881 schools and 3,028,000 children; but in 1902 the figures had fallen to 92,226 schools and 3,009,000 pupils. In Bombay there is a considerable decrease due to plague and famine; the United Provinces show an increase; elsewhere there is stagnation. The secondary schools, which teach the vernacular and Oriental classics, but not English, also fell from 2,067 to 1,935, the number of students remaining practically unchanged.

The popularity of English is easily explained. It is not only the official language, and the *lingua franca* of most educated natives in a country with a great variety of tongues, but it is also a preliminary condition for employment in the higher ranks of the Government service, and for admission to and the practice of the learned professions. Vernacular education, on the other hand depends largely on local facilities and on the funds available. In some Provinces, like Bengal, there is a school for every two miles of country; in others, like the Central Provinces, only one

for every eight, but these figures give a wrong impression. The primary schools are to be found chiefly in towns and large villages where indigenous schools existed previously. The rural population (and that is the hardest part of the problem) has scarcely been touched. Moreover, the maintenance of primary schools devolves chiefly on municipalities and district boards, the Indian equivalent of our County Councils; their resources are not very elastic, and the amount they can devote to education appears for some time back to have reached a limit.

The children who go to school are Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and native Christians, besides others—Parsis, Aborigines, &c., whom we can omit. The native Christians are the most generally educated; one-half of the children of a school-going age, both boys and girls, are at school; although in Madras, where Syrian Christians abound, the proportion is somewhat less. Next to them come the Buddhists and Hindus with a proportion of one boy in 5. In some Provinces, of course, the proportion is much less; in the Punjab it is one in 6, and one in 11 in the United Provinces; while in Bengal and Bombay it is one in 4. In the matter of girls the Buddhists are ahead of the Hindus, they have one girl out of every 21 at school; while among Hindus the proportion is one in 51—the figures varying from one in 13 in Coorg and one in 27 in Bombay, to one in 327 in the United Province. But although these figures convey some idea of the general diffusion of education, they do not equally show its distribution. Very few native Christians or Buddhists are to be found in the colleges, while one-half of the Hindus at college and in the high schools are Brahmans. Brahmans form a very considerable proportion of the most highly-educated classes.

The Mohammedans come last of all. They labour under many disadvantages. Their law requires them to devote several years to religious instruction before they betake themselves to secular studies, and the learning they venerate is of the Oriental type: a learned Moulvi is held in much greater repute than a University-marked M.A. It must also be remembered that one-half the Mohammedans of India dwell in the north and north-east of Bengal. They are the descendants of aboriginal tribes converted no one knows exactly when or how; they are miserably poor, and yield little material for the schoolmaster. In the United Provinces where the Mohammedans still retain the imperial instinct, and are often rich and powerful, they are ahead of the Hindus in the matter of education. And the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, founded by Sir Syad Ahmad in imitation of Trinity College, Cambridge, is probably nearer the model of the college Government wishes to see adopted throughout India than any other.

The extension of education in India is largely a matter of money, as the Government remarks. The total expenditure in 1901-2 was a little over 400 *lakhs* of rupees, say two-and-three-quarter million pounds. One hundred and twenty-seven *lakhs* came from fees; 83 *lakhs* from subscriptions and endowments; the municipalities and district boards contributed 74 *lakhs*, and Government gave the rest. The municipalities and district boards are charged, as a rule, with the support of primary education within their respective areas, while the municipalities support the greater number of secondary schools, and in Madras they even maintain some colleges. The Government has a few primary and secondary schools, which serve as model institutions, but most of its funds are devoted to the maintenance of the colleges. Far the greatest part of the work of education is done, not through Government agencies of any kind, but by means of aided schools managed by missionaries, committees of native gentlemen, and others. Nearly one-half the arts colleges, three-fourths of the secondary schools, and four-fifths of the primary ones receive grants in aid. These aided institutions are of every degree; they have among them some of the best schools and colleges, they have also the weakest. As a rule they are smaller and poorer than those entirely supported by the State. Bengal, Madras, and Burma afford the chief field for the grant in aid system, while in Bombay large institutions supported from public funds are common. One of the most important reforms instituted by Lord Curzon is the abolition of the plan of payment by results, and the substitution for it of a system of grants on much the same conditions which prevail in England.

We have given the history of education in India and the point to which education has attained, so far as numbers are concerned. With regard to its quality it is impossible to speak here at length. Certain defects are universally admitted—the excessive *rôle* which examinations have hitherto played, the predominance of cram, the utilitarian purposes for which education is pursued, the neglect of the vernaculars, above all the want of ethical training and discipline. Some of these defects are due to the ideals which have hitherto prevailed, the examining board of the London University having been taken for a model. Others are due to the native mind, the undue training of the memory, the love of metaphysical discussion, and the substitution of words for things. Others, again, are inherent in a system which is exotic and therefore often unreal, which is secular and therefore without influence on the character, which is utilitarian, and pursued only for its extraneous advantages. Nor can we pursue in detail the remedies proposed by the Government. In their briefest form they amount to this—the abolition of payment by results, an

increased control by the Education Department, and an increase in the supervising staff, the extension of hostels and a more intimate relation between the teacher and his pupils, above all the insistence on a high ideal of what education means as a training of the character. The model of the London University is to be abandoned, and Indian schools and colleges are to be modelled after the plan of our English colleges and public schools so far as that is possible.

There are two points which appear to require special notice in this review. First, missionaries have always taken a very prominent part in the work of education. Out of 60 aided arts colleges 38 are Mission institutions, and missionaries manage a large number of the higher and lower schools. Female education is almost entirely in their hands except in Burma, and missionaries and Government officials are the only ones who take an interest in the education of the aboriginal tribes and backward classes. Perhaps the best testimony to the efficiency of Missionary work is the fact that Mission schools are imitated by their bitterest opponents such as the Arya Samāj. Although the present report does justice to the work of the missionaries, the tables nowhere distinguish between the different classes of aided institutions. The only figures we can find are for Madras. The aided institutions in Madras are as follows :—

	Mission management	Non-Mission management
Arts Colleges	22	11
Secondary Schools, Boys	182	208
Do. Girls	135	13
Primary Schools, Boys	3,016	13,371
Do. Girls	371	281
Training Schools	24	—
Other Special Schools	28	18
Total	3,778	13,902

The educational establishments of the Madras Missions are exceptionally strong, and the proportions which prevail in that Presidency cannot be applied elsewhere. It is obvious, however, that the co-operation of the Missionaries is essential to the cause of Indian education, and any alteration of policy which is not accepted by them is in danger of shipwreck. Some of the Mission institutions are among the best in India, others, as Sir T. Raleigh says, are among the weakest. Departmental Inspectors also complain sometimes of a want of continuity—what one missionary has begun is discarded by his successor. The higher standard which the Government wishes to enforce must be applied with tact and moderation, or it will most certainly fail; but it will require more strenuous exertion on the part of the missionaries, and calls specially for their good will.

The second point is the education of European and Eurasian children. According to the recent census there are 52,759 such children under fifteen years of age, of whom 31,122 are at school. Madras and Bengal account for more than half the total number. Some 3,000 children attend native schools, a practice which prevails chiefly in Burma. The remaining 27,914 are taught in 350 institutions, 316 of which receive grants in aid, and all of which, excepting military schools, are under private management. Most of these institutions are secondary schools, and the girls' schools outnumber the boys, although the girls themselves are somewhat less. The noteworthy point is that the children are withdrawn when they reach a certain age and are fit for work. Although there is a very general demand for secondary education, there is none for the higher; and, besides being of a limited quality, the education must be cheap. This fact militates strongly against the high-class Anglican hill schools. The Mussuri school which supplied a Director of Public Instruction and other high officers to the Government has been closed. The schools at Darjiling, Naini Tal, and Simla are kept going with difficulty. The Roman Catholic teaching brother- and sisterhoods, which work cheaply, are rapidly taking possession of the field, at least, in Northern India. There were 14,927 European and Eurasian children at school in Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab in 1903. Of these 6,724 attended Roman Catholic schools, and 2,943 Anglican ones; denominational schools had 1,299, and railway schools, 1,379. The number at Roman Catholic schools far exceeds the proportion of Roman Catholics among the community. The rivalry, which is perhaps inevitable under an aided system, is another element of weakness. In Agra we have five High Schools, with only 400 scholars between them. Might not something be done to replace the present costly staff of some of the Anglican schools by teachers trained in the Training Colleges? In Madras a few women have entered these colleges, and it is a sign of good augury. It were well if the movement could be greatly extended.

The Web of Indian Life. By the Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble), of Rámakrishna-Vivekánanda. (William Heinemann. 1904.)

THIS is a book of considerable power and greater literary charm. From a missionary point of view its importance consists in this, that if the views of Hindu life and thought presented in it are true, the mission of the Church to India, regarded in its redemptive aspect as the communication of life and salvation to a people sunk in ignorance and superstition, is simply a work of superero-

gation, though the Gospel of the Incarnation, regarded as the revelation of the *Christus Consummator*, might still have a mission to accomplish. But from start to finish the picture of the life of the people, and in particular that of the women, is so optimistic, so idealised, that it is liable to induce in the minds of readers unacquainted with the actual facts a belief that, to say the least, missions, as at present conducted in India, are working on false lines, and must change their *venue* if they would prove successful. We hope, indeed, that most of our readers are so far familiar with the truth as to vote out of court any presentation of Indian life which, if true, would convict of falsehood and misrepresentation not only our missionaries, but such perfectly unbiassed witnesses as the late Mrs. Isabella Bishop, whose loss we all so deeply deplore, and still more, perhaps, such eminent Indians as Dr. Bhandákar and others, whose evidence the late Dr. Murdoch has adduced in proof of the social and moral degradation of modern Hinduism. The evils of this system are so gross and pernicious that any book which tends to obscure the moral issues at stake by a *couleur de rose* optimism is a menace to progress, and in the interest not only of truth, but of the welfare of our Hindu fellow-subjects in India, we deem it necessary to point out some of the palpable fallacies which the authoress of this book is guilty of.

She is, it will be noted, a convert herself to Hinduism. The particular form of it which she has espoused is a cult which her *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, Vivekánanda, brought into vogue at the so-called Chicago Parliament of Religions. What the *differentia* of this cult is she has herself informed us. It lies "in the acceptance of the doctrine of the *Ishtha Devata*—i.e. the right of every man to choose his own creed, and of none to force the same choice on any other." This sublime synthesis of Indian thought is announced as a corollary of the teaching of the other *guru* to whom Sister *Nivedita* subscribes herself a disciple, Swámi Ráma-krishna, which sets forth "the entire sufficiency of any single creed or conception to lead the soul to God as its true goal." "Henceforth . . . each form is justified, welcomed, set up for its passionate loving, for evermore." We have before us an address delivered on the banks of the Ganges at Calcutta some time ago by Nivedita, in which she extolled the worship of the Hindu goddess Kálí as the special form which she justified and welcomed for her own spiritual behoof. The following is an extract from this lecture:—"The associations of the place are sacred, this very blood and dust of the shrine are holy. . . . It is before Kálí, the terrible one, Kálí, the tongue of fire, Kálí surrounded by forms of death and destruction, that the soul hushes itself at last and utters that one word 'Mother,' and at some infinitely distant time perhaps, when duality is gone

and not even God is any longer God, may that other experience arise of which the Master spoke when he said, 'It is always on the bosom of dead divinity that the blissful Mother dances her dance celestial.' " If she had published this address as an appendix to her present book her readers would have been better able to see how completely she has acclimatised herself to the creed of her adoption. As the cult of Kálí is the nadir of Hinduism, one can only deplore the prostitution of such really brilliant gifts to so unworthy a task as the glorification of so degraded a superstition. Needless to say, there is no hint in the book under review of such esoteric raptures as this lecture is full of. Englishmen are very tolerant of the vagaries of neophytes, but they are hardly prepared to tolerate an open avowal on the part of English votaries of Hinduism of faith in Kálí and Krishna as objects of worship. At least, they would not be if they knew what those cults really mean as practised in India. It is thus politic on the part of such writers to suppress all reference to them when they seek to commend their new faith to their fellow-countrymen. Mrs. Besant has adopted this course in her lecture entitled "Is Theosophy anti-Christian?" and *Nivedita* follows suit in *The Web of Indian Life*. As it would appear from the recent inhibition of a London vicar from taking the chair at one of Mrs. Besant's meetings that some of our clergy are in danger of misunderstanding the ultimate drift of such tenets as these writers seek to impose on the credulity of the British public, it has seemed desirable to call attention to its real tendency, which is nothing short of the profession of pure and simple polytheism. What reforming Hindus who would fain, under the influence of Christianity, disown the profession of idolatry think of Mrs. Besant's performances, may be inferred from the following extract from the *Calcutta Reis and Riyyet*, a Hindu newspaper :—

"When an English lady (as, for instance, Mrs. Besant) of decent culture professes to be an admirer of Tantric mysticisms and Krishna worship, it behoves every well-wisher of the country to tell her plainly that sensible men do not want her eloquence for gilding what is rotten. In fact, abomination worship is the chief ingredient of modern Hinduism."

And another paper, the *Indian Social Reformer*, is no less explicit in its disavowal of her advocacy of modern Hinduism :—

"Mrs. Besant has been a retrograde engine to the Hindu race, and the deadening effects of her influence have been felt not only in social reform, but along all lines of national activity."

To return now to Sister *Nivedita*, and the fallacies that underlie her representation of Hinduism. It will be sufficient, as our aim is practical and not speculative, to dwell on those which appear in her description of the position and status of the Hindu

wife. Her starting-point is that "purity in every one of its forms is the central pursuit of Indian life." As she has lived so many years *en famille* in Indian homes, it is natural to suppose she knows what she is talking about. But take, in contrast with this statement, the first-hand evidence of a high-caste Indian student, who wrote as follows in an essay on family life in India:—"I am sorry to say that the vice of impurity has been so much loved by our countrymen that they teach their children from their cradles to use abominable words, as if they are impatient to inculcate their vices on their children and to hear those very foolish (*i.e.* indecent) words which they themselves use from the mouths of their dear children." Having started with this initial perversion of the facts, it is not surprising that she can write as follows of the advent of the young bride to her husband's home:—"The Indian bride comes to her husband much as the Western woman might enter a church." "No Madonna of a Sistine Chapel can give that lofty purity of brow, or delicate, untouched virginity of look of any of these Hindu mother-maidens whose veil half covers, half reveals, as he rests on her left arm, her son!" "With all the shyness of the religious novice comes the girl to her new home." "Its very form, with its pillared courtyards, is that of the cloister. The constant dropping of the veil in the presence of men . . . is the token of a real retirement, the sacrament of actual seclusion." "If the characteristic emotion of the wife may be described as passionate reverence, that of the Hindu husband is certainly a measureless protection." "The master note by which the Hindu woman's life can be understood is that of the religious life. . . . Cloistered and veiled, she devotes herself to one name, one thought, yet is never known to betray the fact, even as a nun steals away in secret to kneel before the blessed sacrament."

These quotations, selected almost at random from the chapters which deal with Hindu domestic life, present indeed a charming picture, one which, one would fain hope, has its actual correspondence here and there with "things as they are." But the recollection of the terrible counterpart to all this which the book called *Things as they Are*, a notice of which appeared some time ago in this Review, brought to light, compels us to dissent. It may be that the horror of the scenes witnessed in Southern India by the writer of that book "got on her nerves," and led her to exaggerate the details of the picture she drew. But the corroborating testimony of all those who have the best right to speak on the subject forces on us the conclusion that substantially that picture is a true one, and we can only suppose that Sister *Nivedita* has allowed herself to be hypnotised by the glamour of Indian life. The pathos of the situation is that the truth is for the most part so ghastly that it cannot be written down. But those who

can recollect the evidence of Indian doctors and magistrates, adduced and published in the *Gazette of India* when the Government measure for raising the age of consent was under consideration, will not hesitate to affirm that, if it could be published in a Christian magazine, it would constitute an absolute refutation of the utterly misleading description of Hindu married life which Miss Noble has portrayed in this book. But it would be more than a refutation, it would be a challenge, an appeal to the instincts of Christian pity and sympathy. For it is impossible to repress feelings of indignation and resentment when purely æsthetic idealism is allowed thus to obscure the moral issues involved in the actual state of things in Indian *senana* life. The women and children suffer, and they want our help. Now and again an actual cry, a wail of sadness, reaches our ears from one of the victims of the present system. But in the main it is a mute appeal, and it is because books like this tend to blind people's eyes and dull their ears to the real pathos of the situation that we have deemed it wiser, for practical purposes, to devote our main attention to this one topic out of the many that would otherwise have provided criticism in this book.

"How happy," says Sister *Nivedita*, "were those days in the little lane! how unlike the terrible pictures of the Hindu routine which . . . had embittered my English childhood. Constant ablutions, endless prostrations, unmeaning caste-restrictions, what a torture the dreary tale had been! And the reality was so different! . . . It was all like a birth into a new world." The Abbé Dubois spent a life-time among the people of India, and there was never a more sympathetic observer of their habits and customs than he was. If the work in which he embodied his experience and researches is a faithful record of Hindu life as he knew it, and as it still for the most part remains, it is certain he would have treated Sister *Nivedita's* book as a pure and simple romance. The reality *is* so different!

Muhammedan Objections to Christianity. Compiled by the Rev. S. C. Tisdall. Published by the S.P.C.K. Price 3s. 6d. 240 pp.

THIS should prove of the greatest use to anyone beginning to study Mohammedanism, whether intending to become a missionary or no. It is quite the best text-book which has been published dealing with this special subject. The book contains 250 objections with suggested replies.

A Memoir of Bishop Chalmers, second Bishop of Goulburn, N.S.W. Published by Melville and Mullen, Melbourne. 160 pp.

The Bible a Missionary Book. By Dr. R. F. Horton. Published by Oliphant. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Dux Christus : an Outline Study of Japan. By W. E. Griffis. 296 pp. Published by Macmillan. Price 2s.

THIS volume is uniform with the Outline Studies of India and China. It contains an admirable sketch of the re-introduction of Christianity to Japan, together with many suggestions which should be of considerable help to the student of Missions in that country. In the midst of much which is in accord with a spirit of Christian charity, it is disappointing to find one section labelled "the flood tide of Romanism"; it is still more distressing to find that the author regards what he calls "the abominable cigarette habit" as comparable in moral turpitude to impurity and immorality. Despite, however, the limitations of the author's outlook which these expressions imply, the book is one to be commended for the large amount of useful information which it contains.

A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great. By F. A. Gasquet, D.D. Published by the Westminster Art and Book Company. Price 2s.

THIS life of Gregory, the MS. of which is now printed for the first time, was apparently composed before the history of Bede was written. Plummer, in his edition of Bede's works, expresses the opinion that Bede obtained some of his information from it. The MS. is supposed to have been written by a monk of the monastery of Whitby about the year 713. According to it the Angles whom Gregory met at Rome were not slaves, but had journeyed to Rome of their own free will. The Latin in which the MS. is written is very far from being classical, and it is not easy to make out in many places what the writer meant. Abbot Gasquet has done good service to students of early English ecclesiastical history in publishing this book. We could almost have wished that for the benefit of general readers he had added a translation and detailed notes.

For Christ in Fuhkien. Being the story of the Fuhkien Mission of the Church Missionary Society. 184 pp. illustrated. Published by the C.M.S. Price 2s. 6d. net.

WE welcome another, the fourth, edition of this book, which was originally published in 1877. It is a story of most encouraging progress well told and issued in an attractive form.

Christmas Time in Many a Clime. 127 pp. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s. 6d.

WRITTEN for children. It contains an interesting account of the way in which Christmas Day is kept in twelve different places in various parts of the world.

Cross and Crown: Stories of the Chinese Boxers. By Mrs. Bryson. 207 pp. With 64 illustrations. Published by the London Missionary Society. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS is quite the most interesting account which has been published from a missionary point of view of the Boxer movement. The chapter entitled "How the Children of China Died for Jesus" contains a series of apparently well-authenticated stories of Chinese children who submitted to every form of torture and death rather than deny that they were Christians. It is hard to conceive that anyone, however hostile to Missions to the Chinese, could read this chapter without feeling that the history of the world has been enriched by the deeds of heroism here described. The book should be added to every missionary library.

Memoir of the Rev. John Thomas, C.M.S. Missionary at Mengnanapuram, Tinnevely, 1836-1870. 190 pp. Published by Elliot Stock. Price 5s.

To the friends and workers of the Mission at Mengnanapuram this book should be of considerable interest, though it may not, perhaps, appeal to those who did not know Dr. Thomas or his work.

The Church in Madras. Being the history of the ecclesiastical and missionary action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the Rev. F. Penny. 702 pp. Published by Smith, Elder & Co. Price 21s. net.

THIS volume contains a large amount of information which would be of great value to those who are interested in the attitude of the East India Company towards Christian work amongst the Europeans in India. The writer is able to show that, although the Company did not give any general encouragement to missionary work, it nevertheless made serious endeavours to provide chaplains who should minister to the Europeans in its various stations. The latter part of the book contains some account of the missionary work supported by the S.P.C.K., and especially of the missionary work of Schwartz. It contains several good illustrations.

An Elementary Grammar of the Japanese Language. By Tatui Baba. Third edition. Published by Kegan Paul. Price 5s. net.

WE are sorry not to be able to recommend this grammar to English students of Japanese. It was originally written "as a protest against the idea that the language is very imperfect." The author in order to prove the contrary has attempted to show that the scheme which is applicable to a Latin grammar is equally applicable to one of the Japanese language. It is not nearly as good a grammar as that written by Chamberlain or by Imbrie. The writer tells us that every *i* is to be pronounced as the *i* in "inland." In accordance with this direction we should pronounce the word which he writes "inu," a dog, as if it were written "innu," whereas its true pronunciation is "eenu." He does not explain how his rule is to be applied to a terminal *i*. Again, he says that *u* is to be pronounced as the *u* in "queen"; how would this help the student to pronounce the word "kuru," to come? There are numerous other inaccuracies of a similar kind.

How to use the Prayer Book. By Mrs. Romanes. (Series, Simple Guides to Christian Knowledge.) 159 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 2s. 6d.

A VALUABLE compendium of information relating to the English Prayer Book which should be of great service to a teacher. Its fault, if it has a fault, is that it attempts to give too much information, whether historical or explanatory, within the limits assigned to the book. It is well arranged and is free from any party bias. We can strongly recommend it to parents and teachers.

Mediterranean Winter Resorts. By Reynolds Ball. Published by Hazell, Watson & Viney. 618 pp. Price 6s.

A REPRINT of this excellent guide to the Mediterranean winter resorts printed on India paper. It contains full information in regard to English religious services, &c., and a mass of other well-arranged information.

Cambridge Mission to Delhi, Occasional Paper 31. 'The place of education in missionary work.' By G. Hibbert-Ware, Principal of S. Stephen's College, Delhi. Price 2d.

THE best defence of educational work as an integral part of missionary work in India which we have ever seen. The Paper deserves to be widely circulated.

The Princeton Theological Review. Published quarterly in connection with Princeton Theological College. Price three dollars annually.

It contains articles of a general theological character and in addition an extensive collection of reviews, chiefly of American theological books. This last feature should render it interesting to English readers.

Journal of the African Society. October. Published by Macmillan. Price 6s.

The Faith of a Christian. By a disciple. Published by Macmillan.

Five Years' Medical Work on Lake Nyasa. By R. Howard, M.B. 105 pp., unbound. Published by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THIS volume consists of a report addressed to the Medical Board of the Universities' Mission on the health of the European missionaries in the diocese of Likoma, and includes an historical survey, from a medical point of view, of the Mission from the time of its commencement. It contains a large amount of information which should be of great use to missionaries or to anyone proposing to reside in a malarial climate. It is satisfactory to learn from the report that the health of the missionaries in the Likoma diocese has materially improved during the last few years. When we remember the constant warnings which doctors are accustomed to give to travellers that chills are the most fruitful cause of malarial fever, it is rather a shock to be told that fever is never due to this cause. Happily the new teaching can already point to visible improvement in the health of those who have begun to act upon it.

God's Board. By Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. 233 pp. Published by Methuen. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THIS little volume, which is very daintily got up, consists of a series of short "Communion addresses," arranged by Margaret Benson, for the Sundays and principal Holy Days. Some of them were delivered as they appear, others are extracts from the Archbishop's sermons. We have space for but a single extract:—

"To 'go away' from Him, then (during His life on earth), was impossible. But let us in these later days recollect that there is one thing sadder even than going away. It is the standing

loitering about Him without loving Him or doing anything for Him. Making people think we are His disciples when we are not, and letting them draw their inferences from our lives as to what His disciples are, and His doctrine and Himself. He says, 'as the Master,' so the disciple. But the world says, 'as the disciples so must be the Master—valueless for practical good.'"

Who's Who, 1905. 1,700 pp. Published by A. & C. Black.
Price 7s. 6d.

THIS is the 57th year of issue, and the present volume contains 100 pp. more than that of last year. We wish that it were possible to believe that the number of deservedly important people was increasing at the rate which this addition suggests. Some of the autobiographies inserted are written in egotistic language which it is humiliating to read. They make us wish that the Editor could exercise more control over those which he inserts. The book, despite all its deficiencies, is indispensable as a work of reference.

Who's Who Year Book, 1905. By the same Publishers as the preceding, an extremely useful book of reference. Price 1s.

The Englishwoman's Year Book, 1905. 368 pp. Published by A. & C. Black. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THE publication of this volume witnesses to the marvellous development in women's work of every kind which has taken place during recent years. As the preface states "there is no excuse now for 'standing idle in the market place.' Competent women can find work of a skilled sort in home life, and in public life also. Opportunities for training multiply." Four pages are devoted to a list of "missionary and deaconess training institutions and societies of religious workers." The information given about "Englishwomen abroad," "Emigration," and "Medical training of women" will specially appeal to our readers.

Bound copies of the annual volumes of THE EAST AND THE WEST, with indexes, for 1903 and 1904, can be obtained from the S.P.G. House, 19 Delahay Street, S.W., price 4s. 6d., or 4s. 11d. post free.

The East and The West

APRIL 1905

THE POSSIBILITIES OF AN AFRICAN KRAAL.

THE hut, the kraal, and the native town relate themselves in one's mind as the cottage, the village, and the town in Europe. The hut is the family home of the native just as the cottage is the castle of the peasant. The kraal is the village with its headman or squire, the town is the village enlarged, and with the bigger Induna as the chief or ground-landlord. The kraals vary in their composition and habitudes, as do the villages, depending on individual character or on common custom. Perhaps the most perfect form of a native kraal is that of the Zulu type, which consists of any number of round huts each self-contained but built within a circular wall or palisade. In the centre of the great circle is the cattle kraal. Opposite this is the hut or collection of huts of the chief wife, and on either side those of the right and left-hand wives, called in native poetical phrase respectively the Beams and Rafters of the great chief's house. Each wife has her own little or big compound as the case may be. The whole arrangement is seen at once to have grown up in olden times for the purpose of defence from enemies and security from wild animals. Very large kraals are dignified by the name of town. At King Khama's town in Bechuanaland there are often

NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

10,000 people living. Moroko, the Bechuana chief, who lived at Thaba-Nchu (the black mountain), had also from 10,000 to 15,000 people round his great place, and in Monicaland, Rhodesia, Mtasa, the great Mashona chief, lived on his rocky height, surrounded by numberless small kraals planted on the crags around. The Indunas, or sub-chiefs, govern their own smaller kraals in subordination to the king. In domestic life each husband is supreme, but in public life the Indunas and their councillors practically control the village, though there is always the "Indaba" (talky-talky) amongst the men of the kraal, which is held whenever there is anything of importance to be settled. These Indabas often last for hours, sometimes for days. Practically everyone who likes speaks and gives his advice. The chief says the last word and gives the final decision, after consulting with his councillors, just as in true Church government the Bishop takes advice from his presbyters and Synod but gives his own final decision in Chapter. The decisions of the Native chiefs in council chiefly concern land and its communal division amongst the tribe, questions of polite, and rights of property. Councils would also be held as to war and as to the removal of a town from a part which had been "eaten up" to new land; or as to whether white traders should be allowed; and other similar matters. The decision once made is final; the chief has decided and the matter is ended.

Life in the kraal is governed very largely by custom and tradition. This holds true both in private, social, and public life. "Whatever is new is not true, and whatever is true is not new," is the general principle, and to cut clean across tradition and prejudice in native life is the sure way to failure. Over all the details of the family and private life there hangs the halo of ancestry, and this becomes a kind of religion to them. What is called ancestral worship is really the absolute dependence of their whole life upon tradition and custom.

In order to understand the life of a Kafir kraal it is not only necessary to know what the natives do, it is necessary to know why they do it. As they say in their own expressive language, "you do not know a man till you have been

under his skin," *i.e.* you must see with his eyes and think with his thoughts. It is no use asking the Kafirs themselves. They hate outside investigation, and will at once begin a game of bluff, leading the investigator pleasantly but positively into a quagmire of imaginative conceptions. Begin to talk to natives about the cattle or the mealies or a "beer-drink" and you may, perhaps, get a direct answer, but talk about their customs and their belief and you will find they have suddenly become deaf. They will say, "We are very stupid people," or, "We are feeling sick," or, "We do not understand and we are growing very deaf." Then they will talk generalities, but you will not get any real information out of them. The only explanation you will be given is the declaration that such and such a habit or belief "is our custom." Yet when you live with them and really get to know them you will find that underneath all their strange and even horrid customs some principle of personal or social or religious belief is there. Of course most of their life is occupied with growing, preparing, and eating food and with marriage and family customs. Births, marriages, and deaths occupy as important a place in the native newspapers, when a native gets such (there are already three or four in South Africa), as in the European Press.

The personal life of the native is controlled by family and tribal custom. He has little individuality and has hardly any power of initiative, but he is imitative. He avoids new ideas and lives in the midst of facts not of ideas, though surrounding most of the facts of life there is this halo of tradition of which we have spoken. It is in the innate belief that in the mystery of life there is something beyond and above and behind and within that most of his family and tribe live. This mystery is something which he cannot touch or grapple with; all he says about it is, "I do not know, I am a child; the white man is wise, and perhaps he knows." It will take long and patient training, by example rather than by precept and by sympathy rather than by external effort, before the native will realise himself. He has his customs, inherited from his ancestors, which cling to him from birth to death. As soon as a child is born, for instance, a few hairs are pulled out

of the tail of a cow and are made into a necklace charm for luck. The baby is then washed in cow-dung, and many helpers volunteer at once for this purpose. The mother is secluded and the kraal people are doctored lest the birth should bring evil to them. The father offers a sacrifice to the ancestral spirits, the doctor is called in and makes an incision on the child's face. The child is left to sleep on the floor, by way of testing its quality, and there are many drastic customs to ensure the survival of the fittest. When the child is ten days old it is placed on a spot of ground which has been struck by lightning; the mother chews medicines and spits them on the child. Then she leaves it, never turning back, for to do this would bring bad luck to the child. After a time the mother returns and feels to see if the child has got courage from having been alone on the lightning path. This action is repeated at five years of age. In many tribes circumcision is practised. Round this custom all sorts of weird and sometimes horrible and degrading rites are practised, some of them unmentionable. The period of the circumcision rites lasts for some weeks, during which very hard discipline is carried out. But after the ceremonies are over a bridal saturnalia sets in and the last traces of self-respect are too often obliterated. The time of marriage is an important one. Blood relationship is a bar in most cases, though there are strange exceptions. The younger brother may not marry till the elder has at least one wife. The proposal for marriage is made by the young man or his father, from the girl herself or from her own people. When Rarége sent his daughter to a Timbu chief he declared war on him because he only sent him one hundred cattle as dowry. If the young man makes the proposal he sends some small present; if the lady accepts, negotiations are opened. After being accepted there are many matters of etiquette to be remembered, reminding one of Old Testament stories, *e.g.* of those of Isaac and Rebekah. The number of cattle to be given to the girl's father varies in proportion to the dignity of her position or her beauty. The standard of beauty is on the whole obesity; so that Mr. Callard will not find much demand in Native life for his wonderful anti-fat biscuits. The wedding ceremonies have many preliminaries, customs which

sometimes last for weeks ; but of course these customs will vary with all sorts of circumstances. European influence has a tendency to produce a kind of prudery or false shame and almost suggests evil. After marriage the woman is entirely under the control of her husband, but if he is brutal she will probably run away to her father's kraal. This does not often happen. In Mashonaland, as in other parts, it used to be the custom for men, however old, to buy quite young girls from their parents so as to secure them as wives later on. But by degrees European marriage laws are getting the girl's life under protection, and now in Rhodesia no girl can be compelled to marry a man unless she cares for him. But on the whole the position of woman in all the tribes is that of a chattel. They are the slaves of their husbands, and though extreme cases of cruelty are often avenged by combinations amongst the women, who have been known to drive a man to suicide by their tongues, the position of woman on the whole is very degraded. The question of polygamy is settling itself by degrees, but undoubtedly polygamy is at the bottom of much of the degradation. I do not think there are more than 10 to 15 per cent. of the entire native population that can afford more than one wife. This economical influence, together with the gradual and increasing influence of Christianity, will before long make the native life monogenous. After a woman has ceased to bear children and has grown old her life is a misery. She has to depend for food upon casual handfuls of porridge or a bone thrown to her, as it would be thrown by us to a dog.

It is interesting to notice the influence of what is called "hlonipa," or what we should call "shamefacedness." Here is an instance. A missionary lady was teaching the Lord's Prayer, and when she came to the phrase "Thy kingdom come" the native woman substituted quite another word for "come," which made nonsense. She insisted on doing so, the reason being that her husband's name contained this word and it was not good form for her to use it. When a woman has lost caste by breaking this custom of hlonipa she will probably be "smelt out" by the witch-doctor and punished with great severity. There are certain things she may not do, certain places she may not

visit, certain paths she may not cross, certain people to whom she may not talk. It is hlonipa which helps her to obey these restrictions. Hlonipa in a small way answers to the Japanese "Bushida shido." It is worth noticing that when a woman becomes a Christian she is often allowed to break hlonipa, because they say she is now walking another road, and so long as she walks straight it is all right.

Death is hardly ever thought of by a native, it is full of fear. Natives will not talk about it, and if you begin to speak of death to them they will think you mean them harm. But this fear of death develops into a kind of reverence for the dead. When a great chief died in olden days many of his wives and cattle were killed with him. Burial takes place as quickly as possible, and food and drink are always placed by the side of the grave for the spirit. Everything is done to make the spirit feel companionship, and food and articles of clothing are put by the grave. When Chaka's mother died he wished to kill every mother in the country to accompany her to Hades, and only stopped when he had killed 7,000. As to the after life they have few beliefs. The spirit of the dead may inhabit this or that animal. The Bechuanas, for instance, say that the spirit of the dead goes into crocodiles, and they will, therefore, never kill these animals; first out of respect for the ancestors, and secondly for fear lest the crocodiles may do them harm.

The fact that they practise the rite of circumcision, spousals before marriage, purification, shaving the head, transference of iniquity to animals, scapegoats in sacrifice, a brother raising up seed to his deceased brother, women going out to great warriors, and the chief standing at the gate of the kraal to give judgment, suggests some kind of Jewish origin. We have besides this a certain kind of worship of the Queen of Heaven (see Jephthah's daughter), snake religion, the feast of the first-fruits, wailing for the dead. Most of these customs seem to be practised throughout the East. It is probable, however, that the Natives, like the Jews themselves (outside their special Revelation), have derived their social and religious customs partly under the influence of fear direct from Nature itself.

With regard to the mental powers of the Native I have

already said that they lack initiative, and they themselves attribute such qualities as courage or obedience to some physical cause. We ourselves talk of "large-heartedness" as representing a great moral quality; while Natives describe the bravery of a man by saying he has a large liver. Perspiration is a symbolic representation of our word "perseverance." Vigour is connected by them with the marrow of the bones, patience is a "long heart," irritation a "short heart." Happiness is a white heart, unhappiness a black one. By degrees natives are ceasing to wonder at the white man, and are learning to admire him for his qualities. They are beginning to imitate, and before long will learn to discriminate, as indeed some of them already do. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the men sent to rule them should be men of the highest quality, and it is saying much for the true statesmanship of many of our English Governors and Administrators that they have taken enormous trouble to secure men of the best class for their work. I have been struck again and again at the intelligence and patience and sympathy with which native commissioners have listened for hours to the inordinate talky-talky of the native Indaba. Yet this very patience produced respect and the feeling that justice would finally be done. In my judgment, apart from positive religious and educational influences, the whole solution of the native question depends upon the character of the native commissioners and magistrates. As to the future I am very hopeful indeed. Native problems are constantly being involved in selfish and side issues, industrial and political, by designing or stupid persons. If Church and State work hand in hand on their own lines all that is worth preserving in the native life and tradition will be transformed by religion and true civilisation, and the Native will take his place in the life and public economy of his country. No statesman is worthy of the name who does not look forward to the time, however far away, when all his people of every race, colour, or religion shall be free citizens of a free country, each having equal opportunity for developing his natural quality, and each with a rightful place in the life of the world.

In my judgment (and in Mashonaland we are, as far as

our scanty funds will allow, trying this experiment), all common school secular education should be upon an industrial basis, on the principle that, "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat," and that "the sleep of a *labouring* man is sweet." We shall be wise to keep the native life self-contained and make it self-efficient. This course of action will in less time than some think evolve the self-respecting, efficient small farmer and tradesman, who will by degrees gain initiating power—think for themselves and learn to work out their social and political as well as spiritual "salvation." At St. Augustine's and St. Monica's industrial farm schools for boys and girls at Penhalanga, Rhodesia, we have this principle in practical operation. The boys grow their own food, and cook it, plant trees (we have over 10,000 already growing), make roads, make and burn bricks, and build their own rooms and houses under the guidance and instruction of the mission clergy and brethren. Each boy, besides, has his own "patch," in which all he grows (in his spare time) is his own. We have introduced new articles of food, *e.g.* potatoes, onions, &c. The Natives have learnt irrigation and have themselves dug some four miles of furrows. They are learning milling and the use of simple tools. As we get funds (and we want a thousand pounds at once) we hope to have a carpenters' and smiths' shop for rough and ready work. The girls do housework, needlework, plain cooking, and grow their own food. Of course we have been told by some few white men (who were the first to complain of the *lazy* Kafir, and were for ever saying, "Why don't you missionaries teach them to *work*?") that we shall make them competitors with the European. Of course, unless the white man keeps ahead of the Native, Nature itself—a very impartial master—will have its own revenge; but the cry is really selfish, and, unless we either enslave the Native or eliminate him, he must advance, and, if the European who is 2,000 years ahead of him, stands still in fancied security, the life around him will pass him by and leave him stranded. The only true "protection" for living men or things is growth, development, and progress, physical, mental, and spiritual. Life is movement, upward and onward. To cease to improve is to cease, sooner or later, to live. The Native, whether he be Indian,

Chinaman, Japanese, or African, is awaking to life and beginning to realise himself, and there is arising a strange federation of hopes and possibilities in the East which will demand its rightful place in the industrial, social, moral, and religious life of the world. If the Western world does not continue to justify its existence it may possibly find its Nirvana in the security of becoming a dead stake—without leaf, flower, or fruit; but certainly the Eastern, be he Hindoo, Mongol, or Bantu, is beginning to feel the tingle of the trembling life in his roots deep down in the life-soil of the world, and he, in my judgment, will not be long in realising in himself that the security and strength of the living tree is better than the sterile security of the dead stake.

The European has the lead—will he keep it? “When you see a movement coming, head it and lead it,” said a wise statesman long ago. Let the Western with his God-given religion of the Incarnation, his corresponding moral strength, his literary, scientific, and artistic attainments, help the East and lead it by example and precept to “whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest (venerable), whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report,” and he will keep the lead, not by standing still in hardening contempt repressing all movement in those below him, but by ever pressing forward and upward to God-likeness himself and helping others onward to the same goal,

Keeping that beautiful that still was so,
And making that which was not,
Till the place becomes Religion.

W. T. MASHONALAND.

The writer owes much of suggestion and reminder to an excellent work by Mr. Dudley Kidd, “The Essential Kafir” (A. & C. Black).

A MUHAMMADAN VILLAGER'S FAITH.

INDIA contains, roughly speaking, sixty million Muhammadans, of whom at least five-sixths are agriculturists. Very many of these are extremely ignorant of their own religion, and mingle indifferently with Hindus at the festivals and shrines of both religions. But a considerable minority are zealous for their faith, and are instructed in it with some care by the village *maulawis*, who correspond, in a manner, to our clergy, except that they know nothing of ordination or of an exclusively clerical status. Here, in the Panjab, I have listened to such a man delivering his Friday sermon in a village mosque. He was a popular preacher, and his discourses were attended by devout men (no women, of course) from a score of villages round. Nearly a hundred were sitting, gazing on him with rapt attention, while he expounded a passage of the Qurān in homely, pithy Panjabi, garnishing it with stories from the "Traditions," and enforcing the duties of ceremonial purity and religious observance. As I left the village, after a friendly religious discussion with the preacher and an invitation to come again, one of the *lambardārs* (head men) came up with me, and remarked confidentially that the preacher was a Wahhābī¹ and a pestilent, seditious fellow who ought to be put on bail by the authorities. There had probably been a dispute about land.

Such instruction is, however, not only oral. A good deal is done, at any rate in the Panjab, by the pen, and among the village *maulawis* there are men of good theological education, who have given to their rural flocks both religious primers for the faithful and more advanced works, such as translations of commentaries on the Qurān and Muhammadan law, likewise religious legends in verse, and mystical

¹ The Muhammadan "protestant" sect, who are zealous against saint worship and other accretions on primitive Islam.

works of the Sūfī school. Among the latter the *Qāfiyas* (rhymed verses) of Bullē Shāh are known and read outside the Panjab, though they, like the other works mentioned, are in Panjābī, a provincial dialect, not regarded by Indian Muslims generally as a suitable vehicle of literature. It is interesting to note that the language used by these writers is one of those cases in which Islam has set its mark on the Aryan tongues of India. The chief example of this is, of course, Urdu, in which we find Western Hindi transfused with Persian and Arabic, so as to form a fresh language, with a polished literature of its own. But the same thing has happened with other languages, though in a less degree. As at one extremity in Eastern Bengal we find Musalmani Bengali, a distinct speech used by many millions, so in the Panjab, north and west of Amritsar, the Hindu Panjabi of the central parts gives way to the Musalmani Panjabi of Sialkot, Firozpur, and other districts. The displacement of vocabulary is, of course, principally in religious words and idioms, but it reaches to some extent the speech of common life, and it contains its own peculiar corruptions of Arabic words such as *mastt* for *masjid* (mosque). In prosecuting missionary work, too, it has been found needful to publish catechisms, tracts, hymn books, stories, as well as most of the Prayer Book, the Gospels, Acts, and portions of the Old Testament in this dialect as well as in Hindu Panjabi, and these are widely read.

One of the most widely used religious primers written in Musalmānī Panjābī is known as *Pakkī Rotī* (well-baked bread). It gives a fair idea of the better side of faith and practice among Muhammadan villagers in India generally and, a perusal of it may help the reader to see something of popular Islam from the inside. *Pakkī Rotī* is in the form of a catechism, and the substance of it runs thus.¹

Bismillāhī'r Rahmānī'r Rahīm. (In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful.)

If anyone asks you, Then say :

1. What is the meaning of Bismi'llāh? I begin this book "in the name of God" Most High (*Ta'ālā*), who daily

¹ The technical or otherwise important Arabic or Panjabi words and phrases are given bracketed in italics.

gives food to every creature in the world, and who will pardon the faithful, but not the infidel, on the day of judgment.

2. Whose servant are you?

I am the servant (*banda*) of God Most High.

3. Of which people (*ummat*) are you?

Of the people of Muhammad the Apostle of God (*rasūlu'llāh*), may God bless him and grant him peace (*salla'llāhu 'alaihim wa sallama*).

4. Whose friend (*yār*) are you?

I am the friend of the four friends (*chār yār*) of the Prophet: first, Hazrat Abū Bakr Siddīq, upon whom be the approval of God Most High; second, Hazrat 'Umr Khattāb, upon whom, &c.; third Hazrat 'Usmán, son of 'Affán, upon whom, &c.; fourth, Hazrat Ali, upon whose countenance be the favour of God.

5. Whose offspring (*aulād*) are you?

I am the offspring of Prince (*Mih̄tar*) Adam, the Chosen of God (*Safiyu'llāh*).

6. Of whose faith (*millat*) are you?

I profess the faith of Abraham, the friend of God (*Khallu'llāh*).

7. To what community (*guroh*) do you belong?

The Muslim.

8. To what sect (*mazhab*) do you belong?

To the sect of Hazrat Imám A'zam, on whom be the mercy of God.

9. How many heads of sects are there?

Four: (1) Hazrat Imám A'zam, on whom, &c.; (2) Hazrat Imám Sháfi'í, on whom, &c.; (3) Hazrat Imám Málík, on whom, &c.; (4) Hazrat Imám Ahmad Hanbal, on whom, &c.

10. How many generations in the genealogy of the Prophet should one know?

Four: (1) Hazrat Muhammad, &c., was the son of 'Abdu'llah, who was the son of Muttalib, who was the son of Hášhim, who was the son of 'Abdu'l Manáf.

11. Since when have you been a Muslim?

Since the day of the covenant (*Yaumu'l mīsdq*), when God created all the souls of men.

12. How many kinds of faith (*imán*) are there?

Five: (1) The faith of the Apostles, which is called acceptable (*maqbul*); (2) The faith of the Angels, which is called

natural (*matbú*); (3) The faith of believers, which is called protected (*ma'súm*); (4) The faith of heretics, which is called abolished (*mauqúf*); (5) The faith of infidels, which is called reprobate (*mardúd*).

13. Is your faith sitting or standing? Whoever obeys all the commandments of God Most High, his faith is sitting; but whoever transgresses His commandments, his faith is standing and ready to depart.

14. Is your faith clad or naked? Whoever is modest, his faith is clad; but whoever is immodest, his faith is naked.

15. Which is the home of your faith? The heart of the faithful.

16. What is the root of your faith? The study of the law (*'ilm shar'at dá parhnd*).

17. How many are the pillars (*rukn*) of faith? Two: Confession with the tongue and belief with the heart (*iqrárun bi'l lisáni, wa tasdiqun bi'l qalbi*); that is to say, I confess with my tongue and believe in my heart that God is One, and that Hazrat Muhammad, the Apostle of God, &c., is truly sent by Him.

18. How many are the ordinances (*hukm*) of the faith? Seven: (1) If an infidel becomes a Muslim, he is not to be killed; (2) He is not to be imprisoned; (3) He is not to be deprived of his goods; (4) He is not to be harassed without lawful cause; (5) He is not to be slandered; (6) His home shall be in Paradise; (7) The fire of hell shall not touch him.

19. How many are the conditions of the faith? Seven: (1) To believe in the unseen; (2) [To confess] that knowledge of the unseen is a prerogative of God Most High; (3) To believe of one's own free will; (4) To trust in the mercies of God Most High; (5) To fear the punishments of God Most High; (6) To accept as lawful whatever God has made lawful; (7) To regard as unlawful whatever God has made unlawful.

20. How many are the articles (*sifatán*) of the faith? ¹

Seven: (1) I believe in God Most High (*amantu bi'lláhi*); (2) and all His Angels (*wamaldikatihi*); (3) and all His Books (*wa kutubihi*); (4) and all His Apostles (*wa rusulihi*); (5) and the last day (*wa yaumi 'l akhiri*); (6) and the determination of good and evil by God Most High (*wa'l qadri khairihi wa sharrihi min Alla'hi Ta'áld*), who is pleased with good and displeased with evil; (7) and the Resurrection after death (*wa ba'asi ba'da'l maut*); that is to say God Most High will kill, and will revive, and will not kill again.

21. What is the faith in brief? (*imdn mujmal*)

I believe in God as He is (*amantu bi'lláhi kamá huwa*), in His Names (*ba asmd'ihí*), and His attributes (*wa's sifátihi*), and I accept all His commandments (*wa qabiltu jámia ahkdmihí*).

22. What are the conditions of continuance in the faith?

Three: (1) To thank God for bestowing the faith on us; (2) To beware lest He should take it away; (3) To oppress no one.

23. How many are the foundations (*bind*) of Islam (*Musalmaní*)?

Five: (1) To repeat the *Kalima*; ² (2) To say prayers; (3) To fast during the month of *Ramadan*; (4) To give alms (*sakát*); (5) To go on pilgrimage (*haj*).

24. How many are the requirements (*wájib*) of Islam?

Seven: (1) To minister to poor families; (2) To offer sacrifice (*qurbání*) ³ (3) To give alms (*sadqa*) on the 'Idu'l Fitr ⁴; (4) To obey and minister to one's parents; (5) For women, to obey and minister to their husbands; (6) To perform 'umra; ⁵ (7) To recite *witr*. ⁶

¹ The answer gives a somewhat free translation of the Arabic text of the Muslim Creed, which it quotes, together with comments, in (6) and (7).

² The short creed of Islam, "There is no God but The God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God." Repetition of this formula is the initiatory rite of Islam.

³ Viz., a camel, ox, goat, or sheep at the ('Idu's suhd) or Festival of Sacrifice, supposed to commemorate the sacrifice of Ishmael by Abraham.

⁴ "Festival of breaking the Fast" at the close of the month *Ramadan*.

⁵ A special prayer said at the time of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

⁶ Extra prayers added to the Night prayers ('Ishá kí Namáz).

25. How many are the traditional observances (*sunna't*) of Islám? Seven: (1) To shave the whole head; (2) To crop the hair on the lips; (and so on with other bodily observances, including circumcision).

26. How many kinds of commandments (*i.e.*, proper actions regulated by them) does the law contain? Eight: (1) Obligatory (*farz*); (2) proper (*wdjib*); (3) Traditional (*sunna't*); (4) Desirable (*mustahab*); (5) Permitted (*halál*); (6) Forbidden (*hardm*); (7) Improper (*makruh*); (8) Indifferent (*mubdh*).

27. What are the obligatory duties (*farz*) with regard to the *Kalima*? Seven: (1) To recite it; (2) To recite it correctly; (3) To recite it intelligently; (4) To recite it in drawn out tones; (5) To recite it at least once in a lifetime; (6) To recite it whenever asked to do so; (7) To recite it when anyone blasphemes.

28. How many are the obligatory duties as to ablution (*wusú*) before prayers? Five: (1) To wash the face; (2) To wash the arms¹; (3) To pass a wet hand (*masah karnd*) over the fourth part of the head;² (4) To wash the feet; (5) To pass a wet hand over the beard, if heavy.

29. What are the traditional observances (*sunna't*) as to the ablutions before prayers? Ten: (Here follow various directions with a view to more thorough cleanliness in the act of ablution, such as rinsing the mouth, gargling, &c. The third observance is the recitation in Arabic of these words: 'In the Name of God the Great: praise be to God for the Faith of Islam: Islam is true and infidelity is false.')

30. What are the desirable observances (*mustahab*) connected with ablution? Seven: (1) The act of intention (*niyat*), saying (in Arabic), 'I intend to perform ablutions in order to remove defilement and to be in a fit state to offer prayer'; (2) To wash the right side first; (3) To wash profusely; (4) To wash continuously; (5) to pass a wet hand over the whole head; (6) The same over the neck; (7) To put one's turban on the knee while performing ablution.³

¹ Up to the elbows, cf. S. Mark vii. 3 (marg. R.V.).

² *I.e.* the face to the back of the ears.

³ Instead of merely holding it off the head while performing the *masah*. Intended to promote cleanliness.

31 treats of the physical impediments which nullify the effects of ablution (cf. Leviticus xv.).

32 to 37 treat of the rules as to bathing, under the same heads: (1) obligatory; (2) proper; (3) traditional; (4) desirable.

38 and 39 treat of *tayammum*, i.e. purification with sand or dust in place of water where this cannot be obtained.¹ The obligations of this ceremony are only three: (1) The act of intention as before; (2) To strike with both hands on clean earth and rub the face; (3) To repeat the action and rub the arms. This is of much less importance in India than in Arabia or North Africa.

40 mentions acts forbidden to a person in a state of ceremonial uncleanness (*jund*).

41 to 45 treat in great detail of the rules as to prayers (*Namâz*) under the same heads as in 32 to 37. Among the proper (*wâjib*) observances is the *Du'â Qunût* in the *Witr* (night prayers), which runs thus: 'O Lord, I ask Thy pardon; I believe Thee and rely on Thee; I praise and thank Thee for Thy goodness; and I empty myself and abandon that which rebels against Thee. O Lord, I worship and adore Thee; I bow down before Thee and turn to Thee.' Two ejaculations that frequently occur are the *Tasbîh* or Sanctus: "Holy is God the Great"; and the *Takbîr* or Magnificat: 'God is Great; God is Great: there is no God but the God; God is great: to Him belongeth praise.'

The catechism concludes:

46. What duties are Three: (1) To eat only things law-
obligatory as to food? ful; (2) To serve God Most High with
the strength obtained from lawful food;
(3) To believe in God Most High as
the Giver of food.

This little manual well illustrates the character of Muhammadan piety. As doctrine, it is a simple faith in the great outlines of natural religion, very like that of the devout Israelite, but without the expectation of a sinless though sin-bearing Messiah, the King and Priest, as well as Prophet. As practice, also, its essential outlines are few and simple, yet even so the outward and ceremonial element is inextricably tied up with the inner and permanent. Hence even the brief and beautiful directions as to food (46) practically leave the Muslim with the idea that, if he abstains from wine and swine, his observance of judgment, mercy,

¹ Hence the Persian proverb, "*A'b âmad, tayammum barkhwdst*," "Water has arrived; sand purification has departed"—another opening for the Christian teacher: the water of life has come and done away with that sand purification of an earth-born religion.

and faith is a secondary matter. For the relief of a burdened conscience, or the hunger and thirst of a devout soul after righteousness, the faith offers minutiae of a ceremonial law of which the complicated directions about *namāz*, brought down in this catechism to the level of the rustic worshipper, give a very faint idea.¹ No wonder that the devout Muslim of higher culture often seeks relief in the impalpable pantheistic gropings of Sufism.

It will be noticed that *Pakkī Rotī* does not give any historical teaching beyond the reference to the Prophets, the Khalifas, and the ancestors of Muhammad. It does not even state (though it implies) that "God created the heavens and the earth." It is a strictly practical manual of faith and duty. At the same time, it is frankly sectarian, in the Muslim sense. The author wishes to train up his disciples in the faith of Imām A'zam, the first of the four great orthodox teachers, but he gives to the three others the same benedictions and titles of respect. He is also a *Sunnī* who believes in the *Chār yār* (four friends), i.e. the four rightly directed Khalifas (*Khulafāu'r rāshidīn*), though he gives a special benediction to Alī, whom the Shī'as would exalt to the exclusion of the other three. This attitude is characteristic of the entire absence from Islam of the idea of a Church or a hierarchy. There is a brotherhood of believers, and they have their schools and masters, but no organisation of laity and clergy. The sectarian divisions of Christianity, as such, are no stumbling-block to a Muhammadan, who boasts that one mark of the superiority of his religion is the greater number of its sects as compared with those of Judaism and Christianity. It is in the loss of power and friction as among ourselves that the "unhappy divisions" of Christendom show their weakening effect in the face of Islam.

The nearest Muslim idea to "Church" is perhaps that

¹ One of our Christian clergy who had (as a Muslim youth) studied under a well-known rural *maulawī* once gave me an instance of the theological questions in which he and his fellow-students were exercised. A man dies, and his corpse must be buried in the desert. The body, according to law, must be purified with fresh water—not the same used over again. But only one cup of water is available. How is the law to be kept? Answer: Make runnels of split bamboo, catch up the water that has flowed over part of the body in one of these, let it run thence into another. It has then become fresh flowing water and the process may be repeated till the whole body has been washed according to law.

of "ummat" (3), "but this signifies only the "people" or following of a prophet, Moses, Jesus, &c. For the "people" of God Islam has no word. For the "*laos*" of God of the New Testament (where it corresponds to the '*am*' of God of the Old Testament) the revisers of the Urdu New Testament had to use the word *ummat* under protest from the non-Christian assessors, for lack of a better term. "You can only say the *ummat* of a Prophet," they urged; "not the *ummat* of God." Islam knows of no "people of God" because it ignores the Incarnation of God.

The prominence given to faith (*Imān*) is noteworthy. The predominant idea is that of intellectual assent. It is *tasdiq* (17)=holding to be true; the root of it is the study of the law (16), yet the element of heart allegiance is not without expression in (15); the "home of faith is the heart of the faithful," a beautiful opening for Christian teaching.

It is impossible for a Muslim catechism not to propound the doctrine of Predestination, constituting as it does one of the explicit articles of the Creed: (20) "I believe in the determination of good and evil by God Most High." And this is further supported on the religious side by the Muslim idea (little realised by Christians) of the pre-existence of the soul. Each soul has its faith determined, "since the day of the covenant (11) when God created all the souls of men;" and provided the '*alam i arwāh*' (world of spirits) as their abode till they successively become embodied. It is interesting, however, to see that this author tries to guard his disciples against antinomianism, by adding to the words of the creed his own gloss, "Who is pleased with good and displeased with evil."

The Muhammadan idea of forgiveness also stands out in contrast to that of the Christian Faith. Forgiveness is to be granted at the day of judgment (1), when Allah shall pronounce as He pleases, and permit the prophets whom He has sent to intercede for their *ummats*. So the common Muhammadan formula, with reference to the deceased, when condoling after a bereavement, is, "May God forgive him." Hence it is quite consistent that the Quran should contain no promise of present forgiveness through Muhammad, and I suppose it is the lack of this, as much as any-

thing, which has led devout Muhammadans to turn to the Christ who grants present forgiveness, rest, and eternal life.

This catechism enables one to realise how ceremonial and religious observance is interwoven with the whole life of the Muslim. There are beautiful gems of devotion like the *Du'á Qunút* (41-45), but, practically, the details of ablution or the postures of prayer occupy more of the worshipper's attention and are more zealously canvassed by the divine. His religion makes the Muslim outwardly recognisable. The totally shaven head¹ and the cropped moustache (25) tell us at once with whom we have to do. When our preaching is interrupted by a shout on the part of one in the audience, "All Musalmans recite the Kalima," followed by a roaring out, in long drawn tones, of the words, "*La ilaha illa' lláhi, wa Muhammadu 'r Rasúla'l láhi*" (There is no God but the God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God), we are reminded that in so doing these people are only obeying a primary precept of their law, for have they not been hearing what that law would condemn as blasphemy? So we may well let irritation give way to sympathetic patience. Happily, they are unable to carry out here in India the further precept of their faith grimly implied in (18) "If an infidel become a Muslim, he is not to be killed, imprisoned, or deprived of his goods." And the growing influence of Christianity is ever increasing the number of those Muslims who would fain believe that the converse of this is not a commandment of their law.

The faults of Islam lie generally not in that which it affirms, but in what it denies or ignores. We need to beware of such polemic as may shake the faith of the Muslim in those fundamental truths that he holds in common with ourselves, and we should ever remember that even his erroneous beliefs give openings to lead him to the Revelation of Christ which will correct them. The more we see of what he possesses of truth and piety the more do we feel that his *Pakkī Rotī* is a poor substitute for the Bread of Life and the more must we desire to set this before him.

H. M. WEITBREICHT.

¹ The Hindu leaves at least a *bodī* or tuft on the crown.

IMPRESSIONS OF MALAGASY CHARACTER.

MADAGASCAR is an immense island, which nine years ago passed under French rule. We can hardly describe it as a French colony, because colonists are few, but it is part of the dominion of France.

Madagascar is, speaking figuratively, *ruled* like a chess-board. There are provinces, districts, and sub-districts. There is an ordered host of administrators, governors, and sous-governors. Besides the Government offices, there are a health department, an education department, and a fully fledged system of courts of justice. If we except a very few of the wilder western tribes, every native carries his *carte d'identité*, pays his poll tax, house tax, and land tax either in coin or labour. There are trading patents and market dues, roads for wheel traffic, and a railroad more than half completed. We may be permitted to doubt whether our kind-hearted and capable governors know how to develop resources by encouraging the native population to live in greater material comfort. Fears are expressed by many traders that the country is not richer or more prosperous than before, in spite of all this skilful regulation. But no one who has seen the results achieved in the past few years can fail to admit that our friends on the south of the English Channel have a marvellous power of putting things in order, or that they are masters, almost without rivals, in the art of effectively policing an uncivilised district.

I must be pardoned for thus making brief mention of the conditions under which we live. I am aware that my subject is the character of the Malagasy, so far as an experience of only five years has enabled me to estimate it. It will, however, be readily understood that the character

of an impressionable people is being profoundly affected by the sudden arrival of European law, order, and taxation.

The first question to be asked is: Are the natives of Madagascar sufficiently one people to have a common national character? With certain reservations, I should answer, Yes! Our race is Asiatic, not African, in origin, and came, it is believed, from some part of the Malay Peninsula. Many of their verbal roots are Malayan, and the language is clearly of an Asiatic stock. There are local differences both of vocabulary and pronunciation in various districts, yet in structure the language is one. The Hova, or Malagasy of the central plateau, seem the purest of their race; but there is a large admixture of African blood, through imported slaves, especially upon the coast. A French missionary describes the natives as of all colours, "from chrome yellow to lamp black." The type which very markedly predominates is brown, not black. The ordinary Hova is a rather small man, brown like a Hindoo, with smooth black hair and somewhat oval eyes. Upon the whole, we may speak of the Malagasy as a people with a common national character.

They have certainly many attractive qualities. A sympathetic missionary usually sees most of the best sort of native: traders and police officers see the worst. It is certainly a fact that European missionaries, French as well as English, get very fond of their people.

Their extreme kindliness and politeness strike a newcomer from the first. They take their rebukes with outward humility and deference, which is just as well, as they need a good deal of rebuking. It fell to my lot some time ago to rebuke with considerable force of language a native worker who had wasted some mission money. I said (at some length), "John, you are a most emphatic fool." He heard me with head bent to an angle of extreme politeness, and replied in gentle tones, "Thank you, Bishop."

The level of intelligence among tribes in the central parts is certainly good. They do not reach the level of the Hindoo, who, if we are to believe what we hear, takes differential calculus as a relaxation after dinner, where his poor European brother would take a cigarette. But the level of our people is above what one hears of the

African. In the forest and on the coast, however, African blood, combined with the fact that hereditary stupidity has gone on increasing at compound interest for many generations, makes our educational labours more severe and our results less encouraging. The standard of education has been enormously raised in Tananarive (the capital) during the past six years. Our French rulers understand the science of elementary education, and force us to adopt their ideas. It is not an unreasonable request, although expensive and troublesome. We are left entirely free in our religious teaching, and the rules of secular teaching which they enforce are good rules and deserve to be kept for their own sake.

The best sort of natives appear to me to be quick at languages and to have a wonderful verbal memory. They lack the power to originate and think for themselves. When examined they will answer questions by reproducing almost verbally the notes which they have written down. They are fluent speakers, but write poor essays. The subjects required by the Government for a teacher's certificate will give an idea of what a well-educated Malagasy can do. A teacher must know French well—dictation, translation, grammar—and be able to write a short French essay. Elementary history, geography, arithmetic, geometry and algebra form part of their curriculum. There is *viva voce* examination in agriculture and in the science of teaching. A high standard of mechanical drawing is required, and some knowledge of handling a carpenter's tools. Boys aged from 17 to 20 who can pass such an examination clearly belong to a race which does not lack intelligence.

The natural religion of the people throws some light upon their character. It may be doubted if there is, or ever has been, any organised religion, with its idols, priests, sacred rites, &c. The people have a strong belief in charms, and in lucky and unlucky days; but what were usually called their "idols" were superior sorts of charms rather than representations of deity. The souls of dead chieftains are invoked from time to time by singing and dancing and sacrifices of oxen. The people set up stones, which look rather like tombstones, at the entrance to their villages, and sanctify them by pouring at their base the

blood of the oxen sacrificed in the inaugural ceremony. The chieftain's body is buried elsewhere. I asked a native once whether they thought that the soul of the dead chieftain there commemorated lived in or about the stone; he replied, "No! but the ox-blood is a strong thing." I should add that such ceremonies are seldom or never seen in the more civilised parts. The natives have also a fear of witchcraft and the evil eye. On the whole, religion has naturally very little hold upon the unconverted Malagasy, and the absence of organised religious opposition is certainly a gain. But, on the other hand, his religious faculty, which a Hindoo or Buddhist develops in his own way, is very little exercised by a Malagasy. He has, it is true, some small capacity for saying prayer or offering sacrifice to the unseen power, but the task of teaching him the ordinary duties of Christian piety is not an easy one. The missionary finds very little natural religion upon which to build the revealed.

But what, it may be asked, is his moral character? It is hard to give facts without being misunderstood. It is one thing to accept the Christian faith and forms of worship, and another more difficult thing to practise its high moral code. Readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* will not suppose that "native Christians are always good." And those who know most about the morals of professed Christians in India, Africa, or Japan, will be least surprised at moral weaknesses in the professed Christians of Madagascar. I should say that the basis of the moral character of our native is his kindliness and dislike of hurting other people's feelings. He is also peculiarly sensitive to being put to shame. He is not naturally truthful or honest—I have my doubts if any *natural* man is so—but he would regard stealing from anyone he cared for as an unsocial act. A servant will not as a rule steal from a master who is kind to him. A blow or an unkind action, on the other hand, is regarded as a very serious offence, for they feel, quite as much as we do, that they should be gentle, forbearing and patient. Thus, when I am asked what Malagasy Christianity is worth from a moral point of view, I can only answer thus: "I know a great many native communicants and a certain

number of baptized children, who, to the best of my belief, are living chaste, truthful, and honest lives ; more than this I cannot say." There is still, even in more or less Christian circles, a very low standard of purity. There is much impurity among the younger unmarried people, and even among the children. The native idea of marriage is a low one, for, as is often the case in Eastern races, the blood tie counts for more than the marriage tie. A man does not properly "leave his father and mother" to "cleave to his wife." The "family" on either side is always stepping in to interfere, and matrimonial squabbles are many and civil divorce is frequent. The married couple do not regard either their possessions or their earnings as common property ; and in the event of the death of either party, the "family" steps in to re-claim the property of their deceased relation. If the mother dies, her children usually pass to her family. All this is very far from ideal ; but we may add with thankfulness that the better sort of Christian is as a rule faithful to the marriage bond. A Christian native—that is to say, a well-instructed Communicant—when he marries may usually be expected to keep straight. A missionary in Madagascar has much "white cross" work to do, and those who deal with the coast tribes have, in addition, a hard struggle with intemperance.

I venture, in conclusion, to offer with all humility a criticism of some missionary methods. Profoundly as I esteem the character and work, the capacity and energy of many of the Christian workers, of missions other than our own, who have gone before me, I cannot but think that a too sporadic system of evangelisation has been adopted. Many missionaries have been too eager to found Christian communities, and have failed to build up moral character. In ordinary cases, entrance into Christian privileges has been made too easy, because an inadequate Christianity has been offered. The native convert is fatally ready to believe that Sunday observance and hymn-singing and listening to sermons are the things which really make him a Christian. He would admit that moral duties, such as purity, truth, and honesty, are right and proper, but he has not in all cases been led to see that they are of supreme

importance. A native has only a limited outlook: if we insist very emphatically on one set of duties, he will regard another set of duties as relatively unimportant. Above all things he needs a strong, wise, unyielding discipline. Missionaries who allow the local congregation (as some have done) to decide whether to accept or decline on moral grounds an applicant for admission to Holy Baptism or to Communion have made a fatal mistake. Half-Christianised groups of natives are totally unfit to judge of the moral standard which is required. The missionary who would have permanent success must keep such discipline in his own hands. He will go to his trusted native deacon or evangelist for the information which he needs, but he will rely on his own judgment as to whom to receive and whom to reject. And, lastly, it is the reasoned conviction of the writer that natives in Madagascar as elsewhere need the historic creeds as well as the Holy Scriptures for their guidance in truth; they need visible sacraments as well as prayers if they are to enter into effective touch with God; and they need strong, watchful, loving discipline, faithfully applied in the excommunication of sinners and the absolving of the penitent, if they are to gain moral stability. The missionary needs every weapon of his spiritual armoury to combat the moral inadequacy which confronts him in the heathen world; and none realise this more clearly than those who try to bring the salvation of our Lord to the kindly, attractive, but still undisciplined natives of Madagascar.

GEORGE LANCHESTER KING,
Anglican Bishop of Madagascar.

THE PASSING OF THE COLOUR LINE.

WHEN the approximation of races varying in colour is made the subject of conversation, the mind generally turns to the question of intermarriage. It may be well, therefore, to state with all plainness that I am no advocate of intermarriage between races which in the course of ages have distinctly differentiated themselves. Any such union now would be an error, hurtful probably not to one side alone but to both.

Starting from a common source we have radiated like the outstretched fingers of the hand, and the mission of man upon earth would appear to be to cultivate the gifts predominant in his own race, and appropriate to his place on earth, for the good of all. The *genus* horse has likewise developed among other varieties into the racer, cart-horse, and pony. Each is excellent, but we should condemn those who attempted to abolish distinctions which are now in our estimation permanent. Is it legitimate to refer in the same sense to the various organs of the body? The eye, the hand, and the foot have emerged in the course of ages from some primitive organism, never to coalesce except as parts of an infinitely higher organisation which has distributed functions within itself that they may be far more efficiently performed. Is it so to-day with the various races of the world? It is not a subject upon which it is wise to be dogmatic; but, if there is truth in the theory, it reveals a grander view of humanity because it outlines for us a higher corporate ideal for man and it induces respect for all nations, expecting some definite aid from each in the fashioning of a nobler future "in Christ." Certainly some races seem to be as far apart from one another as the little finger of the hand is from the thumb.

But, if it is asked which is the most valuable digit, I am inclined to suggest that the only Christian answer may be—the finger that least considers itself to be greatest. The colour line, then, in one very real sense does not pass and is not likely to do so; it remains a mysterious and a fascinating problem. Physically it would appear that the races which are most completely separated from each other are those of Western Europe and of Central Africa, and it has been said that unions between two such distinct strains promise ill. But, though colour questions are mysterious, the problem of the effect of climate upon moral and physical character is still more mysterious. Moreover, it would appear to be a comparatively unworked field, and offers an opportunity to the thoughtful student of missions to make a valuable contribution to our knowledge. Latitude and longitude may become more completely part of the moral problem of the universe.

From England to Central Africa the problem is longitudinal, from England to Japan it is a line of latitude; and, though there is a gradual change of race as we pass from Anglo-Saxon through the Slav to the Mongolian, yet there are certain main characteristics strongly marked because they are on the line of latitude and unaffected by longitude. Upon the other hand a line from England to Cape Comorin unites two sections of the same race, in England and India; yet, because longitude becomes a factor, there is greater dissimilarity than in the former case. These are merely isolated observations, and even they have to be qualified; for, though it is the custom to consider the Anglo-Saxon and the native of India as constitutionally far apart now, yet there are not wanting those who question whether the Eurasian has yet had justice done to him. They point to the paralysing effect of public opinion, which has been dead against him from the beginning, and to the fact that the training of the children of such unions has been in the hands of the East Indian mother, ill-educated, often non-Christian and ill-fitted for the task. Eliminate, they say, these factors, translate the child into a colder climate, and the result may be surprising, especially in a second or third generation. Certainly the Christian Church is expecting far more, and

more valuable, aid from this section of the Indian community than she has yet received. One is tempted to ask, is it colour or is it climate which is the predominant factor in the differentiation of races? Or is it climate which made the colour and has also affected the character? Enough has been said to tempt someone with leisure to give us the monograph we desire upon this subject.

I am tempted to stray further into these fascinating questions dear to the missionary student. Can we expect to see hereafter the creation of what may be deemed to be a new race? As races become more and more self-conscious and realise their special mission more fully, are they likely to fuse themselves into a new shape anywhere? I imagine the answer would be a doubtful negative. The continent, of course, which supplies us with the latest problems under this head is America throughout its length. As the Red Indians tend to disappear or to become civilised and Christian, are we likely to become better acquainted with the Esquimaux? We are told that nothing but the pressure of the Indians would have kept them so long in those stern northern regions. If that pressure relaxes we may come to have a much more intimate acquaintance with a race that does not propose to disappear; it would be the peaceful invasion of a temperate zone by a Mongol race. But this is more interesting than important. In Canada as well as in the States there may be in making to-day something approaching to a new race compounded not of different colours but of every type of European nationality, predominantly affected, we hope, by Anglo-Saxon character. It is in South America, perhaps, that we may be actually watching the formation of a new nationality, almost of a race, by the blending of the blood of the original inhabitants of the continent with the somewhat dark-skinned members of South Europe. The difference in longitude is perhaps not too great for something like profitable intermixture of blood.

From quite a different point of view the interesting continent racially is Australasia and the South Pacific; it has its pathetic side, because it has been the will of God that in these regions the race farthest removed from the natives of the Antipodes from many points of view should

have found itself in possession there. Who can doubt that a conquering Indian race (had such a thing been possible) would not have killed out the delicate southern races? As one who has lived in Australasia and has loved it passionately, with all its difficult problems and potent dangers, I have often likened ourselves to undergraduates with souls scarce born who had been put in charge of a large Consumptive Hospital. If we went there purely for selfish reasons the problem presents no difficulty, but if for nobler purposes, then the extreme difficulty of the task set us in the purposes of God becomes manifest, for we are at once the worst and the best material for such delicate work according as we are touched with the Christian sensibility or not. It is easy to use hard words against our race in regard to the treatment of Australian natives and South Sea Islanders; but I know that thousands of deep natures to-day in those lands are perplexed by the task set them by the Heavenly Father and are prepared to do all in their power to save the old race and to make reparation.

Were I coroner at the repeated inquests among my own people out there, when there has been no wilful evil done, I should be inclined to charge the jury to give the verdict "overlaid by inadvertence," or, "death by ignorance of proper management." I picture the Great Assize and the multitude of faces of child races, whom we hurried out of the world, looking pathetically at us. I range myself beside my own people. I make no excuses, but from the Eternal Love I trust there may be heard a voice telling of extenuating circumstances somewhere, visible to Him if not to us.

In one well-defined sense, then, the colour line will not pass; perhaps it is as permanent and as necessary for the differentiated purposes of perfecting humanity as the climate line. But if the physical line remains, and if it is for the sake of a nobler humanity, then the moral line must pass away by common consent. We are in the presence to-day of a silent revolution so startling that Europe may well be pardoned if she does not at once realise its significance. Science has not more completely changed our view of the earth and its potentialities than has our modern experience of the future of races. The horizon has suddenly extended

itself. To man, both for science and for spiritual life, an angel has handed him powerful glasses, and awe overpowers him as his vision grows. Spiritually and morally the old almost immemorial dividing line between character and civilisation on the one side and immaturity and barbarism on the other has been wiped out. Colour is no longer the criterion in such regions. We may pardon a nation, half European at all events, which in the hour of stress and defeat in this present war attempts to appeal to Europe to re-erect that barrier of colour as one behind which white races should range themselves ; but it is in vain, and the Christian at least should rejoice over the fact that it is impossible. Why should colour and climate separate us in this world morally ? Why should kindness, courtesy, friendship on equal terms, be only possible on one side of the line ? Is it because Christianity is for the most part on one side of the line ? But on the other hand must not deep respect and courtesy and goodwill overleap the barrier first as an earnest of our Christianity, in order that the Faith may the better advance to the last great conquests ? That is the paramount question to-day ; and therefore in one true sense the colour line must pass away with our ungrudging assent to its departure.

Nor is it necessary to say that the revolution in question has come upon us because the centre of interest, for the statesman as well as for the missionary, has suddenly shifted from Africa to Asia. Before I pass to Asia, however, I am tempted to record a few convictions about the mysterious continent always so near to us geographically but really hidden until the last few decades. Even to-day Africa is considered to be by some almost unquestioned right the heritage of European nations. There are portions of that continent certainly inhabited by races which seem likely always to be subject to external influence because one is tempted to ask whether there are not races which will perpetually live in the nursery. But this is certainly not true of all Africa. My own belief is that Africa will sleep for another century, imbibing at every pore all European influences. The vices of Europe will not kill her virile inhabitants, and the good lessons of Europe will teach her so effectually that a century hence there may be as great surprises in store in Africa for Europeans as those we

experience in the Far East to-day ; and, if one may prophesy, the storm centre will be in the south. Every Englishman should so act in Africa as one who remembers that he is laying foundations of weal or woe for his nation a century hence, and the Church of God should steadily press the lesson.

For the present, however, the interest has rightly shifted to the Far East. It is needless to labour the point. To do so might seem to be uncalled-for patronage of a great civilised and independent Empire not yet Christian, whose virtues and moral strength compel admiration, whose gifts we need within the Church of Christ. Not long ago it may have been with Asia as with Africa, that it was an unwarrantable impertinence on the part of any Mongolian race to crave for an independent existence within its own territories, and that the East would ever be pondering whilst we Westerns utilised her for our own purposes. The Far East seems to have pondered to good effect, and now uplifts her educated head. Russia will apparently find a barrier upon the east as solid as Germany is upon the west and with equal reason ; for it cannot be a crime for a race to plead that she desires to develop her own life upon her own lines when those lines display high character and civilisation. The Church of Christ is, of course, more than ready to welcome a Mongolian federation of nations ; her only desire is to ensure that such a world power should be Christian, not copying the defects of the West, but bringing forth her own treasures for the renewal of the spiritual life of Western Christendom.

If it is asked what part of the world is most immediately affected by the passing of the colour line in the moral region, there is something startling in the answer. Putting aside Russia, it is Australasia which is called upon to handle without delay the most difficult question of our time, for there is none which so immediately requires the highest temper of mind and the noblest statesmanship. Can anyone fail to be struck by the fact that the continent which had pre-eminently to face the problem of dying races is now summoned to add to it the question of the reception of coloured races upon a footing of equality in civilisation ?

Englishmen everywhere ought to be prepared with sympathy for Australian statesmen. The Church of God in every land should pray for the Christian forces in Australasia at this juncture, that they may worthily aid in the solution of a problem new to the world to-day.

It may be as well to state the bare outlines of the subject. Australia is a vast continent lying for the most part in the tropics, very sparsely populated, with an alarmingly declining birth rate. Situated as she is in proximity to the Far East, she naturally attracts the attention of Eastern peoples who are frugal and poor and look for outlets for work in other lands. Australians are alarmed. Events in South Africa have taught them that it is impossible successfully to allow a large population of civilised persons in a country without a vote. She determines at present to close her country to all coloured races. Mail steamers using coloured labour may not have her mail contracts. South Sea Islanders resident in Australia must be deported, no others must be permitted to land. When the Bishop of New Guinea obtained the loan for a few months of two Indian Christian weavers to teach his Papuan Christians the art of weaving they were not permitted to land in New Guinea but were returned to India. Meanwhile Australians claim the right to trade with and reside in China and Japan and in all other lands. Putting aside Australian remedies for a difficult position, we may accord our sympathy to Australian statesmen. It would be impossible to permit two million Japanese to live in Australia without a vote. I have purposely put an extreme case. But it would be equally impossible for Japan to permit two million Englishmen to reside in Japan without a vote, and it is comforting at least to know that the difficulty is not felt necessarily upon one side alone. It is surely a matter for negotiation. The Japanese indeed have their own solution, for no foreigner is permitted to own land in Japan. The Christian Church then ventures to say to statesmen that these are questions for negotiation.

The day has at length come when free, independent civilised nations varying in colour may approach each other respectfully, stating to each other their difficulties, and it is the attitude that is all-important. Is it to be sympathetic

and respectful—in one word, Christian? Or antipathetic, superior, blind to the facts—in one word, non-Christian? And it is just here that the question becomes of vital importance to the Christian Church. That is to say, it is not an intrusion upon our part into a sphere not our own. The future of the Church depends upon the solution. Speaking broadly the colour line has in the past been the general line of Christianity, but the day has come when we cannot permit non-Christian legislation to be considered Christian. We are not competent, perhaps, to settle the details of future policy, but our existence is bound up with the attitude which Christendom adopts in attempting the solution of this problem. It is well at times to take up as strong a position as possible and without qualifications. So I will venture to say that the most pressing and vital missionary problem to-day in the whole world is the solution of the passing of the colour line, and Australia must come first of all to our aid, since she is forced by her position to face it first, and it is her action which may help us to bring Japan, by God's good providence, into the comity of Christian nations or to keep her out of it. So clearly does this fact present itself to me that as a Churchman I am impelled to call the attention of Anglican Churchmen to a gathering in a few months in Sydney, from which we should expect great results. In October next the General Synod of the Church in Australia and Tasmania will meet in the Chapter House in Sydney. There, in a well-remembered chamber, will be assembled missionary bishops of unequalled experience, whose praise is in the Gospel, and wise leaders from every portion of the continent respected in Church and State. The Church at home is justified in appealing to such a body to rise to the height of the occasion and to make a pronouncement which may touch the heart of the Australian nation and help it to realise the boon it may offer to the Empire and to the Church. Sentimental weakness need not be feared from men so conversant with the problems. Sentimental weakness, indeed, is almost a worse fault than undue harshness; but it seems to me that the Anglican Church in Australasia has an opportunity before it which may make the Session of General Synod in 1905 memorable for ever in the annals of the Church of God. And as for

burden of rule in the next twenty years may have to confess that the early years of the twentieth century were filled with still more splendid opportunities and, I trust, achievements too. In the great "field which is the world" we workers must abase our proud hearts, and, humbling ourselves sufficiently to be accorded vision of deep things, we must commend "the faith once delivered to the saints" to all the world by possessing the meekness and gentleness and forbearance of Christ as well as the wisdom that comes of study sanctified by prayer.

H. H. MONTGOMERY (*Bishop*).

THE TENDENCIES OF MODERN HINDUISM.

II. HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE profound difference which exists between European and Asiatic peoples is due not so much to racial or climatic or geographical causes as to historical evolution. Europe possesses a common civilisation and a common creed, a common intellectual and æsthetic atmosphere, a common attitude with regard to man and the world. And this culture is not the peculiar possession of a privileged class ; it is more or less diffused through every rank of society. Thus Europe is a unity. Asia presents a startling contrast. Every tribe, almost every family, preserves its own individuality ; it has its own gods and institutions, its own laws, its own secrets, its own history. Fusion and cohesion are nowhere to be found ; everything is disparate. The unity of European civilisation is the heirloom of the Roman Empire. The races which dwelt on the borders of the Mediterranean lake, Aryan, Semitic, Libyan, Hamitic and pre-Aryan, were as motley and diverse as the Asiatics of to-day. The Roman Empire fused them in a single polity ; it depressed and then destroyed their civic and tribal ambitions, and broke up their old family communities ; it gave them a common administration, a common citizenship, common laws. Greece—not the Greece of Sophocles and Plato, but the Hellenic world which sprang up on the ruins of Alexander's Empire. supplied the intellectual atmosphere. Following on Rome and Greece there came Christianity with a universal religion and the earliest and widest conception of humanity. No such mighty fusion has ever taken place in Asia. Alexander desired to mingle Greeks and Asiatics "like wine and water in a mixing bowl," but his attempt was

premature and its success partial. The Caliphate, borrowing most of its civilisation from the oriental Provinces of the Roman Empire, attempted the same thing, and failed for want of political cohesion. And it is now the turn of the English to achieve this task among creeds more diverse, peoples more numerous, races more heterogeneous than ever took the name of Roman.

Religion in the East always becomes political; it supplies the closest bond of cohesion in lieu of nationality, and the fusion of diverse communities implies a transformation of their religion. It is, therefore, obvious that the forces which are remoulding India, to wit our administration, our science, and our Christianity, are also undermining and refashioning its innumerable creeds. In a former article¹ I considered the action of our administration, pointing out that it encouraged a spirit of religion, and not only disintegrated but rejuvenated Hinduism. The same phenomenon occurred in the first spring of the Roman Empire. The temples were never more magnificent than in the age of Hadrian and the Antonines, cities and noble families vied with each other in the celebration of religious festivals, and paganism walked in holiday attire. Paganism in India is rich with the State endowments of former centuries, and private benefactions are continually adding to its wealth. A multitude of new white-stuccoed temples, their slender spires surmounting the dark foliage of the mango groves, attest the piety of prosperous men; crowds of pilgrims frequent the sacred watering-places; and one lives in an atmosphere of perpetual miracle. Roman rule never produced any sort of unity in the jostling mob of cosmic gods and deified men, ghosts, demons, and fetishes who struggled for the sacrifices and libations, and English rule fares no better; but both Roman and English rule insisted and insist on a certain standard of morality among the worshippers. What is cruel or inhuman is abolished, and paganism becomes not more coherent, but somewhat more respectable.

But, although political causes may disintegrate, they cannot refashion a religion; they serve to awaken but not

¹ *The Tendencies of Modern Hinduism*, I., in *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, October, 1904, p. 427.

to satisfy new wants and aspirations. Western science and Christianity on the other hand not only clear the ground, they bring new elements into play: their action, if much more limited, is more direct; and, powerful as solvents, they are still more powerful as reagents; they enter into new combinations with Hinduism. I propose in this paper to discuss these novel combinations. By what is the new Hinduism attracted? By what is it repelled? Wherein does its vitality consist?

The first and most obvious result of the diffusion of Western learning, and to some extent of Christianity, is the creation of a new class of men, a fraternity belonging to many races, and localities, and castes, and differing much in degrees of culture, but united by common mental possessions and a common attitude, by a community of novel ideas and desires. Their English education separates them by a great gulf from the vulgar. There has always existed in Hinduism an esoteric class of recluses devoted to religion and philosophy, but these are not recluses but laymen engaged in active work. They are powerfully influenced by our *régime* of individualism, which tends to break up the Hindu joint family and encourages them to enjoy their earnings as their peculium. They rejoice in the political emancipation of the Hindu, and as a class are alike antagonistic to Mohammedan and European. Most of them are absorbed in material pursuits, and, after a brief period of youthful scepticism (which has never yet produced anything of importance), many are satisfied with a decent show of regard for the ancestral cults and a vague adoption of the new notions of religion floating in the air. They are respectably, not profoundly, religious. But religion is a matter of perennial interest in India, and there is a class which finds it vitally important to reconcile Western science, if not Western religion, with its own traditions. The declared adherents of the new schools of thought are not very numerous, they do not probably number one-tenth of the class in question, but at least an equal number are seriously engaged on the same problem.

On the masses the new learning has had no influence. Christianity goes farther. As is well known, it draws adherents from all classes, a few from the highest, the

majority from the lowest ; the former because they have passed beyond Hinduism, the latter because they are barely within its pale. Should Christianity continue to spread at the rate it has done of late, within five or six decades the number of Indian Christians will probably equal the number of Christians in the Roman Empire in the days of Constantine.¹ But outside the circle of converts the influence of Christianity on popular Hinduism has hitherto been slight. Sunday is a popular festival among all who are in Government employ or who are engaged in the law courts. Mutinous regiments in 1857 sometimes refused to serve their new masters on a Sunday, and, had we been expelled from India, we might have left Sunday as a souvenir. One occasionally seems to hear the echo of a Christian story in a popular legend. Thus during the census of 1881 a rumour spread throughout the country-side north of the Ghagra that the English were seeking for a babe whose veins ran with milk, and who was destined to deliver India. Under Hindu rule the priests, although always of an inferior class, exercised considerable political influence, and so did the ascetics. The English Government has deprived them of most of their weapons, but both priests and ascetics are hostile as a rule to Christianity. Here and there, however, among the latter one may sometimes trace the Christian influence. Rama Krishna, whose life Max Müller has written, is an instance in point. He had the good fortune to be patronised by the Brahmo-Somaj, but he is probably a type of many others. An illiterate ascetic, and devoted from his boyhood to the service of the monstrous Kali, he mixed flashes of rare spiritual insight with the foulest language.

"He had seen Jesus in a vision, and for three days he could think of nothing and speak of nothing but Jesus and His love." "On the tree," he says, "of Sat-Chit-Ananda (the illimitable Brahman) there are innumerable Râmas, Krishnas, Christs"—

¹ Gibbon puts the number of Christians in the days of Constantine at five or six millions, but this is undoubtedly below the mark. Ten millions is a more probable estimate. The number of native Christians in India at the last census (1901) was close on two and three-quarter millions. They have increased at the rate of over 30 per cent. during each of the last two decades, and over 113 per cent. since 1871. Even at the lowest of these rates, they will number close on ten millions in 55 years.

a not uncommon belief. One gets a step further in the attempts to fuse Christianity with Hinduism and Mohammedanism in a single cult, although such attempts are somewhat rare. A sect of Chetramis has lately arisen in the Punjab which makes the Bible its chief fetish. The founder, Chetram, was a camp sutler who turned ascetic. He had occasional fits of inspired frenzy, and collected a band of followers who are described as "stalwart, well-fed fellows with a minimum of clothing, and having faces variously expressing the ferocity of brigands, the frenzy of madmen, and the vacancy of idiots." In consequence of a dream Chetram built a chapel, and hung an English Bible from the roof. His followers, who now number more than 5,000, carry Bibles; they worship them, but do not open them. It is a practice not unknown elsewhere.

On the whole, however, the direct action of Christianity upon popular Hinduism is very slight, a fact not so strange if we remember that the British soldier is the chief interpreter of Christianity to the masses. For the immense influence which Christianity has exercised we must look to the educated, especially to the English-speaking class. It is this appeal to the educated which so sharply distinguishes the Christian from the Mohammedan propaganda.

Among the educated classes the duel between Christianity and Hinduism is in part a patriotic conflict, and it involves in part a conflict between two different conceptions of both God and man. For the Hindu philosopher—and every educated Hindu is nominally a follower of some philosophic school—God is a purely intellectual concept. Unknowable in Himself, He is at once the cause and the effect, the creator and the world-all. He is the absolute, the nothingness where being and not-being meet, pure thought without an object, pure joy without desire, a God who neither loves nor hates, free from all anthropomorphic stain. To realise oneself as the cosmic Ego is the end of man. But self-discipline is required to attain this spiritual intuition, and thus a moral and religious ideal is created. Unworldliness, purity of body and soul, and to abstain from injury to man or beast, since all are equally divine, these are the necessary virtues. Thus we

have the sharpest contrast between Christianity and Hinduism. "Man by wisdom knew not God," said the great Apostle. "As we grow in spirit, we feel more and more how natural a thing it is to know God," says a Brahmoist. Our Saviour commanded us to love our neighbour, and tells us who our neighbour is. "That one should refrain from doing injury to any creature we have almost imbibed with our very existence," says another, and "any creature" includes every creeping thing. All that distinguishes man from the brute creation, all that makes for human personality, for the ethical sense, the supremacy of the conscience, and the exercise of the active virtues implies an approach to the Christian standpoint, and in judging of the transformation of Hinduism this is the standard we must employ.

The ferment which Christianity has created among the educated classes is apparent on the surface. It reveals itself in the habitual use of Christian expressions, the repudiation of the vulgar polytheism, and the condemnation of obscenity as unbecoming the gods. Thomas à Kempis and Epictetus and M. Aurelius are favourite authors, and the Vedas are searched for parallels. But the tendencies of the times may be most clearly discerned in those definite schools of Neo-Hinduism which have become popular within the last twenty-five years. The most important of these are the Theosophists of Madras, the Arya Somaj in the Punjab and the United Provinces, the Radha Swamis, also in the United Provinces, the Neo-Vedantists, who are widely spread, but are chiefly found in the Madras Presidency, and the Brahmo Somaj in Bengal. They present a very variegated web, the one denouncing what the other affirms, and their followers differ much in their culture; but all these schools have certain affinities, they are all eclectic, they are all influenced by Christianity for attraction or repulsion, all unite to exalt the Hindu genius, and all adopt Christian expressions, and organisation, and, although they profess to rise much above the vulgar herd and are ashamed of their former mental attitude, they seldom wholly discard it. They would fain insinuate, even when they do not boldly assert, a certain miraculous element in the lives of their saints. The higher schools

indeed lay no stress on it, but it exists among the majority of their followers. The mental change is incomplete.

A brief review of each of these schools will best illustrate their drift.

1. Theosophy is an American, not an Indian, product, and, although the Western mind may feel some satisfaction in the search for occult truths, the work of Theosophy in India is altogether retrogressive and disastrous. It started with every prospect of success, for it appealed to the marvellous. But the exposure of Mme. Blavatsky's methods destroyed the belief in its thaumaturgic virtues, and Theosophy in Madras seems to confine itself to a pretended reconciliation of science with the Hindu scriptures and a defence of Hinduism against Christianity.

"It is useless" (says the native editor of *Esoteric Hinduism*) "to attempt to point out and answer the several misrepresentations and misinterpretations" of Hinduism in the writings of "all Christians, especially Christian missionary writers." "The sympathies of college youths are alienated by the study of such works." "What is required is a thorough and complete vindication of Hinduism against these constant and cruel attacks."

And the Editor proceeds to collect all the explanations he can find of esoteric Hinduism and the proofs of its agreement with science which have been published during the last twenty-five years, "the period of religious revival." In this farrago we find the mystic meaning of everything from the Brahman's thread to the planetary influences. Magic and myth, ritual and cosmogony, the evil eye and the geography of the Upanishads, are all explicable upon theosophic principles. The Vedas and Puranas no longer contradict each other, the churning of the ocean contains the atomic theory, and, if a popular superstition is sometimes called degrading, none is so degraded as not to find a defender. Esoteric Hinduism has anticipated science, which has exploded Christianity. The method by which Hinduism and science are reconciled is simple.

"The entire fabric of Hinduism is upreared upon an allegorical foundation, but the allegory having been missed, it has degenerated itself into a system of degrading superstition." "The highly philosophical and scientific religion of *Advaitism* or monism is the firm rock on which Indian society is based, and all the fantastic

Puranika myths, all the ridiculous ceremonies and rites, all the most uncivilised superstitions and customs are all but projections, sometimes deformed, sometimes distorted, but ever solid (*sic*) of an edifice which derives support from this foundation."

Now allegory has always been one of many weapons in the Hindu theological arsenal. A myth, say the dalliance of Krishna with the 16,000 milkmaids, may be treated in one of three ways. It may be accepted literally, as the populace accept it, or the god enjoys carnal lust in one form while he practises tremendous austerities in another—this is the *Yoga* explanation—or, lastly, it is the divine spirit impregnating the verses of the Veda—an explanation given me by a Pandit long ago, and far superior to any in "Esoteric Hinduism." The use of allegory is not novel. What is novel is its extension from myth to every domain of religion and philosophy ; and, as this allegorising has neither canon nor limit, every man's interpretation is contradicted by his neighbour's, anything means everything, confusion reigns supreme, a dense allegoric fog settles on religion, and rhapsody supplies the place of common sense.

Fortunately the bolstering up of effete superstitions, which some European ladies enthusiastically cultivate, finds little favour with the educated Hindu. But in one direction Theosophy represents a more general tendency. Mrs. A. Besant objects to the interpretation of Hindu religious works by Western scholars, "because they do not understand the spirit of our writings." The European pioneers who imported Theosophy into India were reported to be ignorant both of Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and one may shrewdly suspect that their successors are not in much better plight. Be that as it may, the Arya Somaj undertakes to supply a truer method ; it is at once a protest against Christian teaching and Western scholarship. And yet the Arya Somaj has imbibed much of both. It adopts Western science and it slavishly copies Christian institutions. It has its schools and colleges, its missionaries and boards. It has a special propaganda to recover converts to Mohammedanism and Christianity. It advocates (and practises) the education of women. It contemplates the reduction of all castes to four, and the rise from one caste to another by merit. Idolatry is utterly rejected,

and the monotheism of the Arya Somaj is sharply defined, free from all the impure additions which enter into the creed of Nanak and the older reformers. No sect has grown with such startling rapidity—they number over 65,000 in the United Provinces alone—and no sect is so hostile to everything European. The exaltation of rejuvenated Hinduism is the life blood of the Arya Somaj.

“When the Western civilisation was carrying before its tide everything, when doubt and scepticism had almost banished faith from the realm of religion, when in consequence people were embracing Christianity in large numbers, and when there was a widespread unrest among the masses (of the Punjab), there appears on the scene a mighty reformer,” Swami Dyananda.

“The highest Western thought could not influence him in any way; he stood on a far higher plane, and the religion which he offered to the people was truth without the least tinge of falsehood.” This religion was a return to the monotheism of the Vedas. According to the Brahmoists “the recognition of the divine unity is dim” in the Vedas. But according to the Arya Somaj the

“Vedas, the sacred books of the primitive Aryans, are the purest form of the highest monotheism possible to conceive.” “The parallel of this philosophical monotheism does not exist in the world.” “And yet pious Christian missionaries and more pious Christian philologists are never tired of propagating the lie before the world that the Vedas inculcate the worship of many gods and goddesses.”

When the proper meaning of the Vedic texts was forgotten “there grew up a morbid mythology, the curse of modern idolatrous India.” The purity of the golden age must be re-established, and not only its religion but its chronology. A true method of interpretation is, therefore, before all things necessary. European scholars have got their materials from Sayana, and Sayana was indeed “a giant” compared with them, but Sayana’s method of literal interpretation is wrong. To recover the real sense one must look to the root of each word and weigh its various connotations. Thus *asp*, which vulgarly means a horse, stands for motion, heat, and electricity; like the Theosophists, the Arya Somaj deals much in electricity. And

the *devatas*, whom we ignorantly took to be gods, are "religious teachers, parents, and learned men." At other times they mean "time, locality, force, human spirit, deliberate activities and vital activities." When Max Müller declared that a disease of language was the key to all the mythologies, he scarcely foresaw that his key would be employed for the overthrow of his Vedic studies. Unfortunately the key can scarcely be said to have been successful in either case, for, if European scholars made "fools of the *Rishis*," the new method makes them utter sometimes truisms and sometimes nonsense.

The members of the Arya Somaj are for the most part young men, clerks, small Government officials, and the like, half-educated in English and ignorant of Sanskrit; but ardent believers in their cause and liberal supporters of it. Their patriotism is greater than their knowledge. The remaining movements which we have to review are more mature. Like the great religious movements of the Roman Empire, each claims to be a universal religion, each is friendly to Christianity, and each borrows from it some of its ideas and much of its ethics; each also remains Hindu at the core. The least important but the most curious is the Radha Swami creed, a faith which numbers some 16,000 followers in the United Provinces, its original home. It is a variety of Gnosticism in many of its aspects, and had one met with it in an ancient writer one would have readily accepted it as a product of the second century. The Radha Swami creed professes to be based upon a secret revelation which supersedes all others; it is a purely spiritual faith, "a message of eternal peace and joy to all nations." Its adherents are laymen engaged in their daily avocations, and at their head is a most estimable gentleman, formerly Postmaster-General of the United Provinces. They form a spiritual brotherhood in which all are equals, and they have no priests, but they honour their preachers and saints, and there is always the tremendous exception of the *Sant Sat-Guru*—the incarnate Son of God. Caste and the outward observance of idolatrous ceremonies are matters of indifference to the free spirit, and may be adopted or discarded at pleasure. Knowledge is necessary but insufficient for salvation, and

the perfect man must have love and faith, inseparable twins. An ardent love towards God, active love towards man, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world are the characteristics of the true believer. Indeed, they clothe most of their moral teaching in Biblical phraseology, and they earnestly exhort all men not to put their trust in a death-bed repentance. But, when we turn from their evangelical morality to their scheme of doctrine, we find it to be a Christian garb fitted on to a Yoga philosophy. It would be tedious to enter into the details of this highly complex oriental system, but the leading ideas are simple. Their theology is founded on the dualism of spirit and matter. Matter is atomic, chaotic, passive. Pure spirit exists in a purely spiritual world, "an ocean of joy and love." Issuing forth it allies itself with matter, takes form and individuality, and everywhere creates new worlds and centres of energy in its (literal) descent, and for each of these it establishes rulers and inhabitants. At last the particles of the quickening spirit become so embedded in matter that without divine aid they cannot return to their source. Or, to adopt a metaphor more common with them, men are drops from the spiritual ocean and require divine assistance to regain it. But the upward path is beset with difficulties and with enemies. Salvation is to be attained by certain Yoga practices, and by the secret teachings of the *Sant Sat-Guru*, which enable the soul to pursue its upward path (which is also the path by which it descended), to know the names of its ghostly enemies, and to overcome the obstacles which universal mind and matter place in its way. Over all this there is thrown a veil of Christian teaching. The main divisions of the universe are the spiritual, the spiritual-material, and the material-spiritual; it is through these regions that the spirit descends and re-ascends. In the spiritual world the Supreme Being has His dwelling; in the spiritual-material "the Lord God of the Bible" is the viceroy; in the lowest region Brahma. Now this threefold division has undoubtedly been suggested by St. Paul's pneumatic, psychical, and somatic man, man being the microcosm and reflex of the universe. We have also a copy of the Christian Trinity which is quite distinct from the above division. The Almighty

Father dwells in the spiritual region, where individuality there is none, because form and individuality come of the spirit's alliance with matter ; but all the inhabitants of this world embrace individuality at their pleasure. The Holy Spirit mixing with matter is the mother ; and from time to time God becomes incarnate Himself or sends down one of His many Sons, to be the Sant Sat-Guru.

The analogies between the Radha Swamis and the Gnostics are numerous and profound. Both appeal to a secret revelation, both start with the dualism of spirit and matter, they have the same conception of the Supreme Being and the spirit-world as beyond cognition. The downward passage of the spirit, its creation of æons and archons and innumerable beings on its road, and its gradual obscuration by matter are common to both. Above all we have the conception of the human soul as a spark of divine origin and the idea that all men can be and some men are the sons of God ; while the re-ascension of the soul and the path which it must follow are the very *raison d'être* of both systems. Here they break off. The Gnostics put their trust in astrology and magic, the Radha Swamis in secret instructions and Yoga practices.

Philosophic dualism is rare in India ; its great philosophy is idealistic, and possesses a method which, according to Professor Deussen, if less scientific, is more inward and direct than that of any Western system. An idealist philosophy is of course not incompatible with Christianity ; the specifically Hindu element in the Vedanta is the suppression of all personality. Now there is no professed school of Neo-Vedantism, and we have to deal instead with a number of individual and eclectic writers who feel the necessity of a change of attitude. In their scholastic moments the old expressions remain ; that God neither loves nor hates is still their formula. But they are open to Christian impressions and adopt Christian ethical ideas without troubling themselves much about consistency. Their object is to prove that Christianity and Hinduism are the same, and in support of this they appeal to identity of religious experience. And in this appeal there is much force. To the devout Hindu Hinduism presents much that is tender and sublime. It has its profound reverences

and its lofty aspirations, its rapturous joys in the glory of the world as the radiance of its Lord, its mystic trance of a higher communion, its perpetual sense of the divine presence.

Hindu saints are usually represented as melting into tears when they meditate on the goodness of God, and, if devotees talk much of gnosis, the gnosis comes from the heart and not from the intellect; they live in a world of emotion. When Vedantists appeal to religious experience, they appeal to something real if incomplete. Their argument runs thus: "The ultimate teaching of all religions is the same." God is the only good, the end of all. In its ignorance the individual soul projects its shadow on the universe and makes itself the centre of the world. External law brings knowledge, but knowledge puffeth up: the soul proceeds to love, and, since love is perfected hereafter, the soul proceeds on earth by faith. Then

"God's grace descends engulfing all differences and fills everything." "Whoso is specially loved by God becomes at once by the magic of that love a perfect Being." It is "the vanquishing of Satan by the Christ in us . . . and there is nothing left for man either to desire or to shun." "Let Hindus know that Christianity is nothing but Hinduism in a foreign garb, let Christians know that true Hinduism, the Hinduism of the scriptures, is nothing but Christianity, recognising the Christ-spirit in the scheme of the world's regeneration, though not the historical Christ."

And the elements of this reconciliation are to be found (not very lucidly, however, as the writer admits) in "the sublime teachings of the *Bhagavadgita*, which is the very philosophy as it were of all religions." Thus Hinduism is Christianity's elder sister.

The Vedantists compose the intellectual *élite* of India, and the *Brahmo Somaj* may be said to represent the most advanced section of that school and the one in which its novel tendencies are most clearly defined. It declares itself to be "a movement for the revival of the national religion." All the great religions unite, according to it, "in a broad universal Theism, in the doctrine of a supreme indivisible Spirit—God." But, although this belief is "laying the foundations of a universal brotherhood," it is insufficient for the foundation of a church, or even of a private cult.

All religions differ "in their various conceptions of the relation of God to the world ; they differ still more wherever Theism has awakened a sense of sin and unworthiness and given rise to a struggle for a holier life." The historic and national form of religion must, therefore, be retained so far as it "is compatible with progressive thought." Science has not affected the essence of either Christianity or Hinduism, and Hindus cannot afford "to neglect the Theism taught in the Upanishads, developed in later theistic writings, and deepened by the culture and experience of ten thousands of saints and sages." "They cannot build up a purer Theism of their own."

The claim to conservatism is justified in the main. God is still represented as the Absolute Reality where Being and not-Being meet, *Ishwara* as the causal God, *Brahma* as the world-all. We still move within the Vedanta ring fence, nor do we altogether quit it when the Brahmoists assign a relative reality to the world and to man. The breach begins when the Brahmoists treat of individuality and practical morals. Liberation is no longer to be attained by merging the human soul in the infinite, for that is impossible, and immortality is at once the lot and the solace of mankind. The endless series of re-births which filled the older Vedantists with pessimism and despair presents no terrors for the Brahmoist, for it affords him a boundless field for well-doing. The passive virtues are not the greatest, and the Antinomian quietism which regarded virtue and vice as equally indifferent is now anathematised. Thus the old scheme of salvation melts away, and the dawn begins of a new ethos, a sense of personality, and a desire for individual immortality. Indeed, the Brahmoist position is not unlike Spinoza's.

Taken as a whole, the position of Neo-Hinduism corresponds in the main with that of the higher paganism in the Roman Empire. It is cultured and eclectic, and it floats between various mutually contradictory and inconsistent schools of thought which have little promise of stability. But all these schools agree in repudiating the vulgar polytheism and have an inner sanctuary of their own. They strive to weave monotheistic conceptions on a pantheistic background, and they aspire to be universal or

at least national religions. The substantial unity of all religions and the fitness of each for its own country or class is a tenet universally accepted. They are all Hind at the core, and, with few exceptions, they appeal to the authority of a golden age—the mirage of their childhood. The higher Hinduism is the liberal spirit of a conservative people suddenly awakened by the rustle of the breeze which precedes the dawn ; it is Christian in expression and Hindu at heart.

All these characteristics of Neo-Hinduism are found among the philosophical Pagans of the later Roman Empire. They too were cultivated and eclectic, intellectual aristocrats who stood apart from the masses, and acknowledged one supreme Being whose agents were the inferior gods. Their philosophy was universal but too abstract for the vulgar. They acknowledged the truth of all religions and the fitness of the local or national cults ; as they said, *uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum*. They looked with reverence on a past which contained all that was great and glorious, and it was not in their hearts to disown the altars of Rome and of Victory. *Vobis contra morem parentum intelligitis nihil licere*, said a Pagan orator, and his words might form a motto for the young Hindu.

The resemblance is still more striking when we come to the Vedantists. The resemblances between Neo-Platonism and the Vedanta are so striking that an historical connection has often been conjectured. As philosophies they are totally distinct, but their inward bias is the same. Both are eclectic and subjective. Both start with an ineffable reality beyond cognition, and declare that it can only be known by intuition. They explain the universe by emanation, prefer the contemplative to the active life, and readily ally themselves with thaumaturgy, magic, and trance. Neo-Vedantism shows a closer approach, for it is developing under circumstances of political dissolution and reconstruction similar to those which gave rise to Neo-Platonism. Neo-Platonism strove to become universal by preserving what was best in the past. It was eminently patriotic, and, if it rejected the popular religions, it developed itself from a philosophy into a religion. Its eclecticism

knew no bounds. One power alone refused any compromise, and, although Neo-Platonism had borrowed its organisation and morality from the Christians, the exclusiveness of Christianity provoked its bitter hostility. The Neo-Vedantists are friendly to Christianity, but in everything else they are a replica of the Neo-Platonists. And with them too the exclusiveness of Christianity is the capital offence. "To the truly religious toleration is as much a necessity as God," says a Vedantist writer ; and indeed it is essential to their system.

Christianity has penetrated much more deeply among the educated than among the masses, although among the masses Christianity works conversion, and only reformation among the *élite*. But the problem before it in both cases is the same. Religion embraces the whole man, and Hinduism has no consciousness of the value of man. Even with the sufferings of humanity it has little sympathy, although no religion has painted them in drearier colours. In Hinduism man's personality is nought and man has no abiding-place ; he is absorbed either by the Divinity or the brute. But personality is of the essence of Christianity, for Christianity bases itself upon the antinomies of moral being, upon the belief in a divine and all-inclusive Personality, and in a human personality at once independent and dependent. To develop, therefore, the sense of individuality, that moral ideal in which conscience is supreme, is the colossal task which Christianity undertakes. And so far as the English administration and Western literature act upon religion, they also are labouring to produce a sense of individualism, which is the first step towards personality. Whether even with their aid Christianity will ultimately triumph in India is a question on which men are much divided, and no one can foretell. From the time of Darius Hystaspes and Asoka downwards every great religion has ultimately triumphed through political means. Political causes prepared the way for Christianity in the West, and they secured its final acceptance among Romans and barbarians ; Mohammedanism owed its conquests to its sword ; and the failure of Christianity in the East, which began with so fair a promise, was apparently due as much to political

causes as to the heterogeneity of its materials or the difficulty of communications. In India we have an unheard of task—no less than the establishment of a perfectly novel conception both of God and man by persuasion and example, and, if Christianity is to triumph by these means, it must first of all become indigenous. The native Church is rapidly increasing in numbers, in position, and in wealth ; the native Christians are with the Brahmans the best educated community in India ; and as their circumstances oblige them to pursue an active career, and their ambitions lead them to Government employment and the liberal professions, they will in three or four generations become a powerful party in the State. Political tendencies are also in their favour ; and they must ultimately divide the intellectual leadership of Indian thought with educated Brahmans and Mohammedans. When that day comes Christianity will make great strides, if the native Christians do not allow their religious interests to be overborne by the political—a thing of which there is much danger. But these are matters of a distant future ; the seed is springing up before our eyes, but we shall not behold the harvest.

Hinduism has many gods, gods of power and gods of love, but a God of Righteousness it has still to know, for it has not known Him.

J. KENNEDY.

THE REVIVAL IN WALES.

To understand the Welsh Revival one must first know something of the character and temperaments of the Welsh people, no easy matter at any time, and one which has become more difficult since large parts of South Wales have absorbed men of other nationalities. In a mixture of races the weaker and less desirable qualities of each have a tendency to come to the front at first, although the more ingrained and higher qualities will triumph in the end. But in Wales one characteristic has survived every change, and is sufficiently strong to impress itself upon aliens, provided they stay long enough in the Principality and share the common life of the people sympathetically, viz. emotionalism. The Welshman has feelings, and they must find expression; therefore song and oratory flourish, and his native language has a virility possessed by few other tongues, because it encourages and lends itself to the expression of deep feeling, and, as feelings are more readily aroused than reason is, it is not surprising that men of ready speech never lack an audience in Wales, so long as the heart rather than the head is the part addressed.

Matthew Arnold's word for this characteristic is "sentiment,"

"the word which marks where the Celtic races really touch and are one . . . an organisation quick to feel impressions, and feeling them very strongly; a lively personality, therefore, keenly sensitive to joy and to sorrow . . . This temperament, just because it is so quickly and nearly conscious of all impressions, may, no doubt, be seen shy and wounded; it may be seen in wistful regret, it may be seen in passionate, penetrating melancholy, but its essence is to aspire ardently after life, light, and emotion, to be expansive, adventurous, and gay . . . Balance, measure, and patience are just what the Celt never had."¹

¹ Cf. *The Study of Celtic Literature*, pp. 100-104, ed. 1867.

The last sentence helps to make clear why it is that people with such strong musical instincts have not produced their proper quota of great composers ; the drudgery of mastering a difficult science has not been congenial to their temperament. Granted the truth of this diagnosis, the Revival is at once seen to be a necessary institution of Welsh religion, and its recurrence at intervals is explained. Matthew Arnold's summary is supported by many incidents of the Revival of 1904-5, and especially by the welcome decrease in drunkenness, a very marked feature in revival results. Students of inebriety have long known what Mr. G. K. Chesterton has just called public attention to, that "drink is not an animal pleasure ; it belongs to the intellectual and emotional world. It is because drink is very nearly a spiritual pleasure that it is so highly dangerous." ¹

Now we are told on every hand that the Revival has chiefly affected the more emotional people, the Welsh, in South Wales, and that drunkenness, the special sin of the emotional, has become very much less ; the conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that the Welsh element must have provided the greater proportion of victims of the alcoholic habit. If this be admitted, it will serve to guide religious leaders in the adoption of schemes and methods, other than religious services, for the protection of converts after the Revival fire has cooled down and the course of affairs settles into a routine. Only by recognising that men have the defects of their qualities can the line of safety be discovered.

Many are watching to discover how far the Revival will encourage stricter regard for veracity and accuracy in speech. Untruthfulness, the special vice of self-centred and isolated races, the weakness of men whose caution, where money is concerned, is barely distinguishable from avarice, the ready resort of people desirous of gaining an advantage with a minimum of pains, has, no doubt without sufficient proof or reason, been usually regarded as more common in Wales than elsewhere in Great Britain. It is sufficiently noticeable, however, to make thinking men apprehensive of a religious movement which, unless carefully controlled, may strengthen rather than diminish the infirmity. Public

¹ Speech at St. James's Hall, February 12, 1905.

professions of devotion to Christ not manifested in daily practice cannot but help to develop latent tendencies to insincerity. Lofty aspirations uttered with intense emotion in prayer-meetings must, unless they are the outcome of the deepest convictions, encourage the utterers in duplicity and self-deception. The best leaders are alive to the danger, and if they can only succeed in inducing greater sincerity in thought, word, and action, especially in matters where men may honestly differ, the Revival will prove an enormous blessing to Wales.

The methods of the Revival belong also to the Celtic temperament; they appear to the "dull, creeping Saxon" (old Irish poem) irreverent and outrageous, hysterical and disorderly, but were they otherwise the Revival would lose half its power and force for the ardent Celt, more particularly for the people of very limited education. A Revival on very sober lines would, no doubt, be practicable, but whether it would reach the majority of those now affected or enlist their deepest sympathies for righteousness to the same degree is another matter. My belief is that it would not. To an objector to the noisier system, years ago in Cornwall, the blunt reply was, "We are not building the Temple, we are only blasting the rocks." Those who prefer the quiet order as more likely to lead to permanent good, although less immediately and widely influential, may be right in their view. Dr. Starbuck ("Psychology of Religion") found in his enquiry that excitement at Revivals often induced a state of feeling which left no spiritual residuum worth having, if it did not lead to reaction and a worse state than the first. The advocates of sobriety are at liberty to act on their conviction (there is room, God knows, for every kind of experiment), but considering the nature of the material, and also its bulk, the methods in vogue are probably the best, always provided that their limitations are borne in mind and strenuous endeavours made to incorporate the "converted" and bring them under the power of discipline. Experienced dissenting preachers know very well, as one of them in South Wales said recently, that some men have "a mania for being converted"; they are very forward in profession, but uncommonly backward in persistence in good. Yet, when all is said, the fact

remains that some natures are only moved by the sway and swing of a mighty force, and are not reached by gentle influences.

The personalities most prominent in the movement are "racy of the soil," they exhibit the qualities most calculated to win the attention of the people at the present juncture, and no criticism of their language or conduct (within the bounds of true morality) is worth very much if it proceeds from men out of touch with the Celtic nature or unversed in the ways of mystics and ecstasies. For the most part the leaders are simple folk, of very ordinary ability in business affairs, and hitherto living unobtrusive lives. But they have developed a wonderful capacity for realising spiritual being. Visions and lights are as much parts of their experiences as they were of the mystics in past ages. The similarity in the exercise of this capacity between the modern and the mediæval seers is instructive. This applies only to a few of the leaders; I cannot say anything of the assistants, chiefly girls in their teens, whose function is rather like that of the members of the Greek chorus, but who occasionally take the conduct of services.

The origin of the Revival can be traced to no one human person or event. It is the result of many prayers, much longing expectation, prolonged struggles with unseen powers in secret, and, on the part of the people generally, grave dissatisfaction with the trend of religious affairs during the past ten or twelve years. Political animosity has dominated religion in Wales, discipline has been relaxed, secular learning has displaced the old Gospel fervour, and amusements have occupied more than their fair share of the people's time. The Revival is to a large extent a spiritual revolt, and the causes that have led up to it have contributed to produce the revivalists. In some minds there is a suspicion that the movement may be traced to the machinations of the "Free Church Council," devised with a view to strengthening the forces of dissent against the Church, but the evidence tendered is not convincing.

Early in 1904, Mrs. Saunders, sister of the late Dean Howell (who before he died prayed earnestly for a Revival),

spoke at a meeting of young women at New Quay, Cardiganshire, and impressed upon them the duty of definite work for the Master. One of the girls present was moved to deep reflection; on the following Sunday evening she consulted her minister (Calvinistic Methodist) about her position, especially with regard to the "Christian happiness" he had dwelt upon in preaching; she had not felt it. He questioned her briefly as to her spiritual state, and urged unreserved surrender to Christ and His will. In a prayer meeting soon after she led the way with a new power, and from that moment the fire was kindled in that quarter, the new force began to manifest itself. Rumour soon spread the news, it reached the ears of a young student for the ministry at Newcastle Emlyn. This excollier and blacksmith had from boyhood (by the witness of all who knew him) lived an exemplary life, but with a growing conviction that something more was wanting in him and in others. "Christianity seemed such a failure." (Who has not felt this during the past ten years?) For months the spiritual struggle went on, a sense of divine communion began to possess him; he came into brief contact with the people who had been moved at New Quay, and also with a Calvinistic Methodist missionary whose mind had been working in the same direction. The history, so far as it is published, shows clearly the generation of a force at different centres from a common origin (whatever the origin was); as the rising of a tide is discernible here and there among the rocks, so came the Revival, and this not in South Wales only, but in the North, as *e.g.* at Dyffryn, where a homely farmer's wife, inspired by Sheldon's "In His Steps," has become a real power and has gone through experiences of no usual order. I notice, by the way, that the advice tendered to the subjects of these experiences by the ministers whom they consulted was, so far as recorded, sensible, shrewd, and practical; their previous ministrations also must be taken into account, and have not proved unfruitful.

Evan Roberts when he met Seth Joshua, the Calvinistic Methodist missionary, did not know that the latter found in him the answer to his prayers, but so it was. For four years Mr. Joshua had prayed God to raise up a leader,

not from Oxford or Cambridge," but a "lad from the coal-mine or plough."

Rarely has anyone found a more distinct answer to prayer. No one accuses Evan Roberts of intellectual ability, of learning he has but little, his capacities as a workman are not remarkable, but he has ever been given to prayer and Bible reading, and he regards himself as no more than an instrument in God's hands for the saving of men from sin and encouraging them to work for others. Of the claims to communion with God, to direct guidance by the Holy Spirit, to a large sense of a share in the Passion of our Lord, are thought to be extravagant, or (as some have hinted) suggestive proofs of mental upset, I am not disposed to argue the matter, but am content to ask whether all such claims, from St. Paul onward through the entire Christian era, are equally untrue and baseless? If true of any since A.D. 60, why are they deemed untrue in 1904 or 1905? "By their fruits (not their roots) ye shall know them," and the fruits so far have been only good. Grave ministers no less than secular scoffers have refused to recognise the guidance of Evan Roberts as divine; accusations of sordid motive have been sown broadcast, and to such an extent that I am driven to one of two conclusions, either Evan Roberts is wholly sincere and his surrender to the Divine will at present complete, or he is an instance of entire and absolute self-delusion. Conscious hypocrisy no one can attribute to him. Time alone will show the truth in his case as in that of Mrs. Jones of Dyffryn.

In November 1904 Mr. Roberts began to hold meetings at his native place, Lougher. They became notorious, the local press lending its aid to publicity (and surely never before has the newspaper played so great a part in mission work), and soon requests for his presence in other places poured in. Since the early part of December he has been attending services, two and three a day, nearly every day, in numerous towns and villages in South Wales. Nowhere but at Lougher has he initiated these crowded gatherings. In some chapels revival services began in November, and were in full swing for weeks before Roberts came on the scene, and they have continued with unabated

fervour since his visit. His part in the services is not easily determined, but it answers somewhat to an inspection, and from his testings and words of approval or of blame the people are trained to judge for themselves the reality or otherwise of their devotion. I do not profess to understand how or why one meeting is pronounced "terrible," another "glorious," a third "cold," yet another "full of the Spirit," but the revivalist says he knows, and his verdict cannot be questioned except by someone who shares his gift, whatever that may be.

The meetings may be grouped into two classes; 1, those in dissenting chapels, where everything partakes of the individualism of which dissent is the nursery as well as the result; 2, those in churches and schoolrooms, conducted in order and quietness by parish priests or responsible missionaries, clerical and lay. No verbal description suffices to convey to the inexperienced the peculiar atmosphere of the meetings of either sort. The reporters have done their best, and readers of local papers may accept their reports as, in the main, accurate and trustworthy. It may seem that in services in chapels, where two or three are praying aloud at the same time, whilst someone else is singing, and all are suppressed by the vast crowd bursting into "Diolch Iddo," and "Throw out the Life-line," the condition must be one of wild confusion. But when one is in the midst of it, there is no sense of disorder, the unity of aim, viz. the conversion of sinners and increase of joy, lifts one above chaos and intensifies the sense of a Divine presence. True the excitement has gone in some cases beyond bounds. The preacher at Lougher has resigned because he can no longer control the crowd, and many others of his order are gravely doubtful of the after effects of the tolerated disorder. But in most cases the thought of confusion is non-existent. Compared with the wild dervish dances of the Bryanites of North Devon in the thirties and forties the noisiest of the present revival services are mild and decorous, and no doubt owe something to the spread of elementary education and school-discipline.

Mr. Roberts seeks to gain public profession of Christ, confession of sorrow for past sin, determination to win others to righteousness, and obedience to the Holy Spirit.

His preaching is not eloquent, he frequently dwells on the Passion of our Lord, often breaks into tears as he describes the Divine suffering, urges men who have quarrelled to be reconciled, and, instead of directly attacking secular amusement or luxuries, seeks to draw man from bondage to the world by the superior love of Christ. He professes to know when men present are hindering the Spirit by curiosity or hard-heartedness or profanity; he predicts conversions, and once at least has proclaimed that a soul has been lost and is past the power of prayer. He will go to no chapel or town unless guided there by the inner voice. It is in this last particular that he has brought something like condemnation upon himself; for to men who believe that the revivalist's services are not forthcoming without payment of a fee to his agent, varying it is said from two guineas to four guineas, the reference to the guidance of the Holy Spirit is at least questionable. I put the matter plainly because of its importance, not to Roberts only, but to the whole work of the Revival and of religion. Mr. Peter Price, a preacher at Dowlais, has written strongly against the "sham Revival," of which he considers Mr. Evan Roberts the chief exponent, but he recognises a "real Revival"; from various sources I know that he by no means stands alone in his attitude. Many other ministers share his opinions if not his courage. Most men, however, are not inclined to judge one way or the other; the truth will be manifested in due time.

Here are some passages from the *Western Mail* account of "a fine meeting" at Nantymoel (Ogmore Vale) a few days ago:—

The night meeting in Saron Chapel (where the revival fire has for weeks been burning brightly) was from the outset unique in its spiritual temperature. The crush was in itself an indication of the intense expectation prevailing, for, notwithstanding the "strangeness" of the previous night's meeting, there was a Pentecostal gathering. The prayers and hymn-singing, which had been remarkable in the morning and afternoon, culminated in high tension from the time of the opening of the night service. Very tenderly Mr. Evan Roberts, soon after entering the building, asked those who had not received Christ to abstain from singing, for they could not possibly sing from their hearts—an appeal which silenced some, but which elicited a

literally tremendous outburst of hymn-singing and simultaneous prayers.

Mr. Roberts remarked that the service was a powerful illustration of the veracity of the promises of God. The promise of the previous night—that He would give His presence at this meeting—was amply fulfilled already. Another outburst of prayer and song followed, the repeat of several of the hymns being extraordinary in frequency and fervour.

Incidentally, the Evangelist, dwelling upon the need of obeying the Spirit in all things, pointed out the need also of a pure heart in individuals which have a share in the work of winning souls. Still, he said, this idea did not justify all the remarks of some unconverted people. "I am as good as he is," they said. The question was not were they as good as man or woman, but were they as good as Christ?

He then invited the congregation to sing "Duw mawr y rhyfeddodau maith," and the response was thrilling, for the congregation rose and sang with intense fervour, repeating the last four lines about twenty times, and with the singing came prayers in Welsh and English, singly and simultaneously, so that the service became simply indescribable.

Then, suddenly, Mr. Evan Roberts rose to test the meeting. "Let all who have received Christ stand up," and there was a great response. Of course, some retained their seats, and this gave the opportunity to draw in the net. Mr. Roberts had only just begun his exhortation to the unconverted when someone shouted, "Here's one who wants to accept it now." "Diolch iddo" and "Songs of Praises" were sung, and while the singing was going on others declared and gave further cause for rejoicing. 'There are three here who will not give in' ("Tri yn gwrthod. rhoi mewn"), explained a young woman at the front of the gallery, and there was immediately an avalanche of prayers for the unconverted. One woman prayed for an old hearer by name, and elicited scores of "Amens" from all parts of the chapel.

In order to impress waverers an English visitor spoke of the necessity of personal consecration, and while he was speaking a woman announced a conversion. "Diolch iddo" intercepted the speaker. He resumed his speech and was almost immediately again interrupted in the same way and from the same reason. Mr. Roberts urged those who had received Christ to invite those near them to do the same, and there were prompt responses in a double sense, for the workers who acted upon the new call succeeded in their mission, and "Diolch iddo" again rang through the building. The interrupted testimony was then concluded.

The question as to how many had prayed before coming to that meeting for the salvation of souls was put by Mr. Roberts,

and only a few raised their hands in reply. He then declared they could not expect great blessings in the way of the saving of souls if they did not pray for them, and he asked them to pray for those blessings now. Silent prayer, indicated by bowed heads, followed for some time, but not for long, as the Celtic temperament spoke through the stillness, and audible prayers soon poured forth. "Cof am y cyfiawn Iesu" was sung, and, later on, "For you I am praying."

A testimony from a man who had served in South Africa on the need of forgiveness led Mr. Evan Roberts to remind the congregation of the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses." He then asked if there was anyone else who would accept Christ that night. "The devil laughs with glee at the very thought of Welshmen refusing to accept Christ in a land so greatly blessed by the Gospel as Wales!"

Another feature of the gathering was a new series of questions put by Mr. Evan Roberts. When a verse was recited urging sinners to accept salvation, immediately he would ask, "Won't to-morrow do?" This, of course, elicited emphatic replies of "No!" Several similar questions were put, arousing the people's interest in the meeting.

Of the services in connection with the Church I can speak more freely. No one dependent for information on the newspapers can have any idea of the extent to which the Church has participated in the movement. The services have rarely been reported in the press, and, if an occasional notice has appeared, its terms have been guarded and subdued. This is well. The clergy in nearly every case have abstained from all endeavour to work up a revival feeling, equally they have responded to its call when the evidence of its existence was clear.

In some parishes the services have been held in the parish or district church, in others in schoolrooms; in all the character of the devotions has been consistent with the sobriety Churchmen have learned to value. One instance may be taken as typical. The Vicar, having attended revival services under Evan Roberts, began to hold parochial meetings in his schoolroom. He conducted the first series himself. The order was hymn, short prayers, partly extempore, Bible reading, with comments, hymn, address, hymn, then a general invitation to pray, read, or speak. Three or four responded, all of them Dissenters. The Independent preacher gave a short address, and

the service concluded with hymns. The room was full every night, sometimes overcrowded. Finding that the Dissenters proposed to continue the meetings and to invite Churchmen to attend their buildings, the Vicar offered the schoolroom for a new series, and allowed the preachers to conduct. What is the Vicar's report?

Our meetings developed into real revival ones, but always under complete control—no undue excitement, no praying and singing at the same time, no confusion of any kind ; but from first to last there was a deep, earnest, spiritual emotion which now and again showed itself in quiet weeping when some personal experience more touching than usual was given. There was a little "testing" done on two or three occasions. The meetings have drawn us all together in a wonderful way, and we have come to know each other and trust each other more thoroughly than would otherwise have been possible in many years.

This report harmonises with every other I have received, and in the services I have attended a similar depth of spirituality has been reached. The most striking testimonies, however, are those received from many parishes where no revival services have taken place. The spiritual fervour has arisen insensibly ; "more communicants" ; "a better spirit of worship" ; "preaching more spiritual" ; "backsliders coming forward" ; "a wonderful uplifting" ; these are specimens from correspondents' letters, and they are from men whom I can trust.

The better spirit between Church and Dissent is not confined to one or two localities. In one instance the Baptist preacher sent a few weeks ago to the priest of the district the names of eight or ten people, mostly males, who had given in their names for Confirmation at his Revival services. (There were no such services in the church.) In a well-known town a Baptist preacher holding services in the streets publicly prayed for a blessing on the clergy and their work and urged any Church listeners who had not been confirmed to give in their names to the clergy. One man, hitherto obstinate, applied at once to his Vicar in consequence of this appeal. Some jealousies remain, no doubt, but some have departed.

Now if, as some people allege, the Revival has been engineered by the Free Church Council, the result of their

action cannot be very satisfactory to the engineers. Disbelieving the allegation, I cannot but see in the movement the beginning of brighter days for religion.

No survey of the Revival can be complete if it fails to take account of the really excellent work done in quietness and comparative obscurity during the past nine or ten years by the missionaries sent by the Church into scores of rural and urban parishes. It is impossible to doubt the reality of connection between these efforts and the Revival, all the more so when it is known that the Church's mission services have been attended by hundreds, and probably thousands, of Dissenters. Compare Evan Roberts' teaching and questioning with that of some of the Church missionaries and the difference is barely discoverable, so far as the general line is concerned. Where Roberts stops short, on the sacramental life, the missionaries were, of course, strong, and in the sacramental life lies the way of preservation from the attendant evils of mere revivalism. Much of the decrease of bitterness against the Church has occurred since she has proved herself a true mother, recalling her wandering sons, and really in earnest about the Master's kingdom.

Policemen and magistrates declare that crime has decreased since the Revival began, breweries have produced less beer because the demand has fallen off, men long estranged have been reconciled, debts, thought to be irrecoverable, paid up, and many a child has reason to bless the movement. Can there then be much doubt of the real Author of the Revival? No movement of the kind is unattended with circumstances the reverse of pleasant. Hypocrisy, unreality, false profession, pride, these are almost inevitable accompaniments of revivalism, and the present Revival is not an exception. The papers record prayer meetings in coal-pits. It might be well to ask whether the men hold them always in their own time or their employers'? Chapel officials busy every night "gathering in souls to Christ" have not all of them shown that fair and square dealing in business relations with their neighbours which true religion postulates. But, when all is said, the Revival is true for many, and that is as much as can be expected in this world.

To missionaries who work amongst emotional races, such as the Negro, the Revival is full of importance. If the Welsh love hymn singing and can shout a favourite couplet over and over again for ten or twenty minutes, the Negro is no less ready to give vent to his emotions in song. One who has worked amongst Negroes tells me that the frequent Revivals that occurred in his neighbourhood were rarely productive of good, and that his parishioners of colour were, if less demonstrative, no less earnest about religion, and compared favourably in morals with their neighbours not of the Church. At the same time racial characteristics must be provided for by the Church and given some expression, otherwise the Church ceases to be catholic. The mistake of attempting to Romanise or Anglicise or Americanise any and every nation to whom the Gospel is carried by French, or English, or American missionaries is now freely acknowledged. It is understood that each nation must bring its "glory," its divinely given characteristic, into the Church, and if this is to be done the peculiar race-gift must be given due room in worship as well as in organisation. Until Catholics act on the truth of race-gifts there will never be an end to sectarianism; for just as a neglected dogma by and by comes to be the exaggerated watchword of the body of men who have recovered it, so a missionary church which fails to provide for local instincts and ideals must fail to win the loyal, whole-hearted support of the people, and, of course, leaves a door open to other teachers who appear to make good the omission. Details, even if I could give them, are unnecessary here, it must suffice to mention the principle to be upheld; and with it must be kept in mind the fact that "corporate" and "individual" are not opposed terms but necessary co-ordinates of all healthy human action. The "one man" ministry, freely objected to where the priestly life is concerned, has become no less distasteful in the ministry of the Word in preaching; as the Revival has conclusively shown, different races require different treatment, but the treatment can only be sound so far as it rests on, and is an application of, the principles that are enshrined in human nature as a whole. All men of every degree and rank have found the truth of their being

in the Incarnate Truth Himself. When he was visibly present with us He corresponded to the needs of each, and answered to their peculiar demands. His body must perforce do the same, and only in doing so is Christ brought to the people and the people to Christ. The answer given of old to the men of one aspiration was a confusion of tongues, the corrective was and is out of a confusion of aspirations and tongues to produce one mind, the mind inspired by one Spirit, subject to one Lord, confessing one God and Father of all.

A. T. FRYER.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICAN LANDS.

LIFE OR ABSORPTION? A QUESTION.

IN April 1903 an article from the pen of an American Bishop appeared in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* entitled "An Anglican Episcopate in Latin American lands—a justification." In the view of the present writer the Bishop more than proved his point. He showed the weakness of the "non-intrusion" theory so commonly accepted in the Anglican Church in the face of the great responsibility resting upon our sister church in the United States to let her light shine in the dark places of the Southern continent; he insisted on the missionary obligation as specially applicable to his own church on account of the corruption and deadness of Rome on the one hand and the disintegrating processes already at work on the other, due to the successful efforts of Presbyterians and others. There seemed, therefore, to be a clear call to the historic Apostolic Church which he represented to step in and give the primitive Scriptural faith with the ancient order of the Church Catholic to the deserted and hardly more than nominal Christians of Brazil—a view which I understand has been endorsed heartily and unanimously by the Synod of the Church of the United States.

The article was able and convincing, but it is possible that through its tinge of Monroe doctrine, which was natural to an American, especially when writing soon after the Spanish-American war, it may have failed to carry conviction to English readers. I hope to show that the same obligation, in an even higher degree, rests upon the Anglican Church in South America, and that this is more a question for

Englishmen. We have to face the alternative of "Life or Absorption?"

The first point to note is that, whether we like it or not, we are there. Americans are few and far between, and American trade with the Southern continent is scanty in the extreme; the volume of British trade on the other hand is enormous. There are probably 300 millions at least of British capital invested in Argentina alone, and our countrymen are to be numbered in their thousands. Consequently the Anglican Church exists on the continent. We must minister to our own people, and hence there are some 30 clergy at work and as many churches. This is not a fact of our choosing. We exist in the midst of the domain of the great Roman Church where she is at once strongest and weakest.

Now what does this mean? Englishmen at home are for the most part blind to the significance of this fact, Irishmen are more sympathetic. Let it be remembered that, though families and individuals come and go, the race has come to stay. In spite of all official warnings of the Foreign Office that those who migrate to Latin America do so at their own risk, the attraction to these lands is still great, and many come to stay. To the second and third generations we find them. Now those who are brought up in a foreign country tend to speak the language of that country more naturally than their own, and with Spanish speech come Spanish manners and Spanish habits of thought, and the drift then is inevitably towards Rome. I do not mean that this tendency may not be successfully met and counteracted. It is met and with some success. On the whole we retain our nationality better than any other race in the world (and I assume that faith is in some strange way bound up with nationality). But my point is that all such success is, as it were, against the grain. The drift and tendency are all in the wrong direction, towards the religion of the land. There is a constant danger of our children being absorbed, as Irish Churchmen know too well.

Then again mixed marriages are almost invariably a loss. The Roman Church, helped too often by our absurdly passive attitude, claims as a condition of marriage

both parents and all the children. Of course the conversion is seldom genuine. In practice the most unsatisfactory of compromises usually take place. The English husband is indifferent, but objects to his wife going to confession. Neither party is consistent in the faith professed, and naturally the children suffer. It happens comparatively seldom, though it does happen sometimes, that a sturdy Protestant father wins his wife and brings up his children according to his own faith. But the tendency is as I have said. Mixed marriages, which are natural and all but inevitable, mean absorption.

In the face of these tendencies, I ask, is not the habitual Anglican attitude of passivity toward Roman aggression profoundly unsatisfactory? It cannot be insisted upon too strongly that by our lack of definite principle and of a policy, in a word by our passive attitude, we make ourselves a prey. Both in towns and country districts we constantly find English names the bearers of which are native and Romanist. What a history of neglect lies behind that fact! If it were not for the continual infusion of new blood from home and consequent repairing of our national life and ideals, the Anglican Church would in many places cease to exist. Its fate would be absorption.

What, then, is the alternative to this? I answer, life. Let us be a living, aggressive Church; not existing, dragging on a precarious colourless life, but vigorous, active, missionary.

Let it be conceded that our Church exists upon this continent by permission of the Republics in which we live. Their religion is Roman Catholic, and, as living under their laws, we owe to them all courtesy and respect. But religious freedom implies permission to propagate the faith by all lawful means consistent with Christian courtesy. Surely there is a wide difference between attempting to detach people from a faith clearly held and believed in, even if mistaken in important particulars, and striving to bring the light to those who have been driven into unbelief and are utterly neglected. The one is "proselytism" as generally understood, the other is evangelisation. The one is possibly objectionable, the other is clearly right.

Yet all work alike among Roman Catholics is coldly condemned by most Anglicans as "proselytising"! Is not this thoroughly unreasonable? Those who value the historic order of their Church, its creeds, and ministry, and sacraments, ought surely to be at least as anxious as those Churchmen who attach less importance to their position to share their blessings with those who only have the shadows of them. Is missionary enthusiasm to be the concomitant only of lesser knowledge?

We plead for a complete change of attitude, an instructed, whole-hearted, loving mission of help to the Romanists of these lands. We are forced to take this position by facts. The only way to defend our heritage is to carry the holy war into the enemy's land. The only alternative to absorption is life, vigorous real missionary life. Our daughter Church of America has given us the right lead. It is necessary (1) for our own sakes, (2) for the life of these Republics. (1) It is not necessary to prove here that a living Church must be a missionary Church. Is not the reason for the notorious deadness which so often characterises foreign chaplaincies mainly this, that their functions are so limited? They are regarded as existing merely for their own sakes. For a Church to attempt to live for itself is narrowing and deadening. For our own sakes, we must try to help others. (2) We are under an obligation to the Republics in which our Church lives. Now it is only right to note that the missionary obligation may be fulfilled in many districts without trenching upon those who are nominally Romanists. There are numbers of unevangelised Indian tribes, such as those whom the missions of the South American Missionary Society are winning to the faith. But these are for the most part far removed from our Church communities, and interest in them is not easily aroused or maintained. There are also numbers of immigrants of European extraction who have no religious ministrations whatever from their own people; they are Protestants and gladly welcome the ministrations of our Church. It is, then, possible, for the Anglican Church to put forth some missionary life without directly touching Rome. But such limitation and curtailment of missionary activity seems unhealthy and unreasonable. Light should

shine and leaven work, first in its immediate surroundings, afterwards in its more distant environment.

There may be valid reasons why the Anglican Church at home should observe a certain order in her missionary enterprise, working first within the Empire and then afterwards beyond it. But here the case is different ; we start from the fact that we exist already, and must exist, as a permanent element in Spanish America.

Why should our light be denied where it is needed most? The aboriginal races, even when Christianised, can never play as great a part in the world as the highly developed Latin races. If God has anywhere a future for men of this blood, it is surely in these Latin Republics, which are still in their infancy. Their nationality is already strong enough to dominate absolutely the Indian and absorb most of the foreign European element which mixes with it. Humanly speaking, it is clearly possible to do most good by dealing with the dominant race. When pure religion is the one thing needed for their national advancement, are they to be debarred from any help which we might give them because they are Roman Catholic? It will be said they do not want our ministrations. Even so, it does not follow that they do not need them. It may be a duty to help people in spite of themselves.

But in fact the objection is both true and untrue. It is true in the sense that those who need reformation most never wish to be reformed, even when the most delicate and tactful means are employed ; moreover, persuasion, not force, would always be our principle. But it is untrue that there is no desire for purer and better Christianity. Otherwise the Scriptures sold by the American and British Bible Societies would not be read so eagerly, and the great work of the American Methodist and Presbyterian Churches would never have been accomplished. It is well that those who condemn Anglicanism to a passive attitude should look at facts. Whether they like it or not, the work is being done. The day has long passed for debating whether the work should be done or not. Others are doing it, and achieving no inconsiderable success. The only question is, shall Spanish Americans have the alternative of a Church with an historic past, which is a

recognised branch of the Catholic Apostolic Church of Christ and retains the primitive Scriptural faith? There are those, well qualified to judge, who declare that so cultured and intellectual a people coming of an old European stock and with a developed historical sense will never be satisfied with anything less. Presbyterians have admitted that we are capable of doing a work which they themselves cannot do. But they do their work—all honour to them!—ours remains undone. There is the difference. Let it be clearly understood that the position, “leave Rome alone,” is impossible. Disintegrating forces are already at work; secular education is making for unbelief; Liberalism too often involves atheism; there is a crying need for genuine Christianity—who shall meet it? The Anglican Church is, in point of numbers and influence, the dominant religious force among English-speaking people on this continent—is it a true principle which makes us inactive?

The general attitude in South America is no doubt a reflection of that at home. What a strange contrast it is! On the one hand Romanism, clear, masterful, aggressive, on the other hand Anglicanism, passive and without a principle, or, shall we say, hampered by a false principle, setting courtesy to an opponent above loyalty to her own children, believing so little in her own grace and calling that she acquiesces in absorption. We do not desire to copy Rome by ignoring other communions, but we do assert that the missionary principle is of universal application to our Church, in Latin American lands as elsewhere, and that the right answer to the alternative, absorption or life, is life. The Bishop of Salisbury said, “It seems now to be the duty of the Anglican Church to establish a world-wide communion without reference to the Roman claims,” the Bishop of Rome having definitely rejected Anglican orders; yet Englishmen abroad, even Churchmen, contributed readily to the Roman Cathedral at Westminster. Which is to dominate the policy of the future? The Bishop’s statesmanlike principle, or the blind, thoughtless practice, of which the above incident is typical?

IMPRESSIONS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION WORK IN CHINA.

WHEN anyone speaks of mission work, in nine cases out of ten he means the work done by the Church to which he belongs. When he mentions missionaries, they are his fellow churchmen. All others are ignored. Nowhere is this truer than in China, the country of all others where this exclusiveness ought not to exist, where Romanists, Anglicans, and Nonconformists of all denominations form one great army to fight against the powers of heathenism. When China is brought to a knowledge of the truth, as we all believe that she will be in God's good time, neither Romanist nor Anglican nor Nonconformist will be able to say, "Our Church alone did it, and alone claims the honour of the victory." Though this magazine is published mainly for Anglican readers, it is an appropriate as well as a pleasant task to acknowledge the successes of our Roman Catholic fellow-workers, and to express our sympathy with them both in their trials and in their triumphs. They were first in the field, and can consequently boast a more extended area of work and a longer list of successes than our own Church, which followed them at an interval of over two centuries.

The earliest Christian missionaries to visit China were the Nestorian monks of the fifth and following centuries. Their Church died out. Mission work revived with the Franciscans of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their achievements have been exhaustively described by the Bishop of Gibraltar.¹

After them came the Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century onwards, to be followed by Dominicans, Franciscans, and others. St. Francis Xavier may be said to be the

¹ THE EAST AND THE WEST, April 1904.

founder of these missions, although he never succeeded in actually reaching China, for he was struck down by a fatal illness on arrival at the island of San Chuan, or St. John, on the south coast, and died, as has been said, like Moses in sight of the Promised Land, which he could not enter. Father Ricci and others took up his work. A full account of their labours has been given by Mr. Eubank,¹ so that the readers of this magazine need not be asked to go over the same ground again. Let us turn our attention, then, to the Romanist missions of the present day, merely picking up such links with the past as are absolutely necessary to enable us to understand the present state of the Church.

The history of the Roman Church in China presents two sides, a spiritual and a secular side. If we take the spiritual side we find a record of those who have borne exile, privation, and danger, and have many of them given their lives, and are enrolled for ever in the noble army of martyrs ; men who have preached and prayed, have cured diseases, and have administered the holy sacraments. With them have been holy women who have nursed the sick, have tended their heathen sisters, have baptized dying infants, and have cared for wretched orphans. But, if we take the secular side of the Roman Catholic propaganda, we find priests the tools of European Governments, used to forward schemes of aggression in the Chinese Empire. Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge this, pleading that the Church in such matters acts under compulsion, and is to be pitied not blamed. When Rochester's famous epigram,

" Here lies our sovereign lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on ;
He never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one,"

came to the knowledge of Charles II. the King remarked, " True enough. My words are my own, my ministers are responsible for my actions." So with the Church. Her spiritual work is her own. Her political action is that of her oppressors.

¹ THE EAST AND THE WEST, January 1905.

Let us begin with the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi—1662 to 1723—when disputes arose regarding ancestral worship, the worship of Confucius, and the use of the proper term to express God Almighty or the true God. Father Ricci, followed by the Jesuit party, was extremely liberal and broadminded in his views regarding the worship of ancestors and Confucius, the rites relating to which he considered merely civil and secular. The Franciscans and Dominicans took the opposite view, and condemned the rites as idolatrous. Pope Innocent X. approved their opinions, and issued a decree accordingly. Alexander VII. afterwards practically reversed this. In 1699 the Jesuits laid the case before the Chinese Emperor himself, who replied the following year that T'ien, the term¹ used by the Jesuits, meant the true God, and that the Chinese rites were to be regarded as political only. His decision was forwarded to Pope Clement XI., who in direct opposition to the Emperor, after a six years' discussion, accepted the opinions of the Franciscans, and sent Cardinal Tournon, and afterwards Monseigneur Mezzabarba, as his legates to China to enforce his decree, ordering that no Chinese Christian should ever practise the rites and usages forbidden by the Pope. This was the beginning of the *imperium in imperio* of the Roman Catholic Church in China. K'ang Hsi was not the potentate to submit to such an usurpation of his authority. In 1718 he refused permission for any missionary to remain in his realm who would not follow the rules of Father Ricci, while the Pope on his side obliged

¹ "The term question"—that is the question what Chinese expression best represents God Almighty—is too complicated to be discussed here. We may say briefly that Roman Catholics alone now use the term *T'ien Chu*, Anglicans and Protestants preferring *Shang Ti* or the word *Shên*, Divine Spirit. The following lines from *The Ring and the Book* put the case succinctly. The Pope speaks :

' Five years since in the Province of Fokien
Which is in China, as some people know,
Maigrot, my Vicar Apostolic there,
Having a great qualm, issues a decree—
Alack, the Converts use as God's name, not
Tien-chu, but plain *Tien* or else mere *Shang-ti*
As Jesuits please to fancy politic;
While, say Dominicans, it calls down fire,
For *Tien* means heaven, and *Shang-ti* supreme Prince
While *Tien-chu* means the Lord of heaven.

every priest going to China to promise solemnly to obey the papal regulations.

There is one other incident in the same reign to which I would call attention. In 1693 the Emperor allowed the priests at Peking to build the church known as the Pei T'ang, a step which led, as we shall see, to many complications.

The Emperor K'ang Hsi died in 1723, and was succeeded by Yung Chêng, who the following year issued an edict proscribing the Christian religion, on the ground that the Christians would only obey their priests and make themselves independent of Chinese law. He in turn was succeeded by Chien Lung in 1736. Monsgr. Favier says of him, "No sovereign of China made such use of the missionaries, and no one ever persecuted them more cruelly than he did. He loved to delude them by raising hopes which he had not the least intention of satisfying." At Peking itself he constantly made use of their knowledge of the arts and sciences, and when one of their churches was burnt down he subscribed 10,000 ounces of silver to the cost of its restoration. But at the same time he kept up a bitter persecution in the Provinces. From the time of his death and the accession of Chia Ching in 1805 to the date of the first war with England the Church was in sore straits, even the missionaries at the capital not being exempt from oppression. Bishop Dufresse was beheaded in Ssu Ch'uan in 1814, and Fathers Triora and Clet were strangled in Hupeh a few years afterwards.

The reign of Tao Kuang—1821 to 1850—brings us to the war of 1840 and the opening of five Treaty Ports. The Pei T'ang was pulled down, and the site sold to a mandarin in 1827. After peace was concluded, an edict was obtained by Mons. Lagrenée, the French Envoy, whereby the Christian religion was to be tolerated and the erection of churches at the Treaty Ports allowed, but missionaries were forbidden to travel in the interior. Sisters of Charity came to China for the first time about 1848. Tao Kuang was succeeded by Hsien Fêng, in whose reign the Taiping Rebellion broke out. In his time also occurred the second war with England, in the course of which Canton was taken. It was the murder

of Mons. Chapdelaine, a French priest in Kuang Hsi, that caused the French to join forces with the English. The signing of the Treaty of Tientsin, the repulse at the Taku Forts, the expedition to North China, the capture of the Taku Forts, and the surrender of Peking followed in rapid succession. The result was, as Monseigneur Favier expresses it, "Religion recovered its liberty, and profited by it to rebuild the ruins of the sacred buildings destroyed in the persecutions." The Bishop, however, omits to notice the clause in the Chinese version of the French Convention, interpolated, it is said, by the priest who acted as interpreter, by which full permission was accorded to French missionaries to purchase land and erect buildings thereon throughout the Empire; and further, all churches, schools, cemeteries, lands and buildings which had been owned by persecuted Christians in previous centuries were to be paid for and the money handed to the French representative in Peking for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. Sir Rutherford Alcock compares this to the imaginary case of a French army occupying London, and dictating as one of the conditions of peace that all property confiscated by Henry VIII. should be forthwith restored to the Roman Catholic Church by the present owners without compensation. Nor has this clause been allowed to become a dead letter. The rights which it conferred have been rigorously claimed. The most important instance of the enforcement of these rights was the recovery and restoration of the Pei T'ang in 1865. Its site, as was mentioned above, was in the Imperial City, close to the Palace itself. In this position the Mission built a new cathedral, 150 feet long, with towers 90 feet high overlooking the Palace, to the intense annoyance of the Chinese Government.

In 1870 occurred the Tientsin massacre, a calamity which was preceded by sundry ominous outbreaks of hatred against foreigners in various parts of China. In this city, which has always borne a bad name for turbulence, where, moreover, the Roman Catholics had obtained possession of a property once an Imperial Pavilion, there was a strong feeling against the missionaries. This feeling was fanned into action by certain agitators in high places, who spread

reports that the priests and sisters of charity got children into their orphanages and removed their eyes for magical purposes. An organised band, led by the city fire brigade, destroyed the cathedral and convent and massacred sixteen French sisters of charity, Mons. Fontanier, the French Consul, a Russian merchant and his wife, and others. The action of the Chinese authorities in trying to avoid all responsibility for the massacre was almost as disgraceful as the massacre itself; but luckily for them the outbreak of war between France and Prussia saved China from the reprisals which the French Government would undoubtedly have taken. The only satisfactory measure was the despatch of H. E. Chung Hou, a high Manchu official, the Superintendent of Northern trade, to France, with a letter of apology. In the following year the Chinese Government made proposals to the French, submitting a scheme for the regulation and control of foreign missionaries. It is possible that if this scheme had been received in a friendly spirit by all the foreign representatives it might, after many amendments and much reconstruction, have led to a *modus vivendi*, but the Roman Catholic powers objected to the proposals, and England and the United States, finding that they were applicable entirely, or at any rate mainly, to Roman Catholics, held aloof and the scheme came to nothing.

Monseigneur Delaplace, the Bishop of Peking, had, after the Tientsin massacre, extricated his mission from the control of the French Legation at Peking, and had in 1874 agreed with the Chinese Government to remove the Pei T'ang cathedral. He would have actually had this done had not the French Government vetoed the agreement. After this sore had been kept open for some years, an English Roman Catholic gentleman, Mr. J. G. Dunn, was entrusted by his Excellency Li Hung-chang, the Viceroy of the Chihli Province, acting for the central Government, with a mission to the Pope to have this question of the Pei T'ang settled satisfactorily once for all. His holiness sanctioned the removal, and further proposed to send Monseigneur Agliardi as nuncio to China to represent all Roman Catholic Christian missions at the court of Peking. This proposal was thankfully received by the Chinese

Government as a deliverance from the protectorate over the native Christians claimed by France. Naturally France objected. The French Government threatened, if the nuncio were sent, to terminate the Concordat, to withdraw the subvention to the Church in France, and to sequester its ministers. The Pope had no option but to submit. Father, afterwards Bishop, Favier, of the Lazarist Mission, was then sent to Europe, whence he brought from the Vatican and the general of the Lazarist order specific authority for the transfer of the cathedral to the Chinese. This was duly made in 1886, but the French Government insisted on being the intermediary through whose hands the transaction had to pass. A new and larger cathedral, with buildings for the accommodation of all the members of the mission, ecclesiastics, sisters, and converts, was erected instead of the old one. The new establishment was still in the Imperial City, but at a greater distance from the palace.

Between 1886 and 1894 there were several persecutions of Christian converts, notably in the Kueichow and Ssuch'uan Provinces. The year 1894 brought the Japanese war and the *débâcle* of China. China's distress afforded an opportunity to Germany to interfere on behalf of the Church. In November 1897 two German Roman Catholic priests were murdered in the Shantung Province. Redress was not left, as heretofore, to be enforced by the French Government. The Kaiser himself took up the case, and demanded compensation in the shape of (*inter alia*) the cession of the naval station of Kiaochow to be a German coaling station and naval base. Other nations, jealous of the balance of power, demanded similar cessions. I venture to express my opinion that the action of the Kaiser, in demanding concessions in the name of a Church, not the national Church of Germany, and thus making her appear responsible for his proceedings, was a cruel blow, for it could not but confirm the conviction of the Chinese that the Church's objects are political, not religious.

I have no space to do more than remind our readers of the reform movement of 1898, and its suppression by the Empress Dowager, whose ardent desire to rid the Empire of all foreigners, and her encouragement of the "Boxers,"

and her belief in their magic powers led to the troubles of 1900. Nor can we enter into the details of the horrors of that year, when so many missionaries of all Christian Churches attained the martyr's crown in North China and Manchuria. I content myself with one episode, the defence of the Pei T'ang, which "will always remain as a witness of what Christian men and women, Chinese as well as Europeans, can do and suffer for a faith to which they have given their whole selves, and for which they would gladly have given their lives."¹ The garrison consisted of 30 French officers and marines, 10 Italians, 13 French fathers, 20 sisters, and 3,200 native converts. Of the whole number the 40 Europeans were the only effective defenders. Six hundred of the native converts were armed with swords and spears, but only 40 rifles and one gun captured from the enemy formed the defence against some 2,000 rifles and a dozen guns. For 28 successive days the place was shelled, 380 shells on one day bursting in the grounds. Half of the Italians, both of the French officers, and three marines were killed. Throughout Bishop Favier, the head of the mission, maintained cheerfulness and hope, kept in check any panic among the converts, and all despondency among the marines. He was well seconded by his coadjutors, and the sisters of mercy worked among the sick and wounded regardless of the enemy's fire. "As an example of the steadfast, patient courage of a handful against a host, of the sagacious use of slender resources, of the bravery of men and the fortitude of women, of unfaltering trust in God, and of a great deliverance wrought by Him against all human probabilities, it is a story that the world will not willingly let die."²

Let us now consider for a moment what the present political position of the Roman Catholic Church is, and how this position compares with that of the Anglican and other Protestant Churches. The Roman Catholic Church is the most in evidence. Wisely or unwisely, by the wish of her own ecclesiastical superiors, or under the compulsion of lay Governments, she magnifies her office. A Bishop lays claim to rank with a Governor

¹ *China in Convulsion*, by the Rev. Arthur Smith, p. 505.

² *Ibid.* p. 507.

of a Chinese Province, and travels in a green sedan chair with a retinue following him. Such an assumption of rank, which would be harmless enough in Europe, is not without practical effect in Asia. When their claims to rank were allowed, the British Minister offered the Anglican Bishops a similar status, as he was in a position to claim it for them under "the favoured nation clause" of the Treaty of Tientsin. They unanimously declined it, feeling not only that the innovation would be distasteful to the Chinese officials, but that it would offer to the natives increased temptation to join the Church with a view to obtain protection or material advantage. Missionaries in all heathen countries admit the existence of the "rice Christian," the man who wants to become a convert for the sake of gain. In China there is something more than this. "Though the foreigner is despised, the native who follows the creed of the foreigner frequently obtains power and influence, to which he could not otherwise attain. The reason for this is that the mass of the upper classes regard the missionaries as political agents and fear them. The poor know this, and therefore look in many cases to the missionary, the honest for protection, the dishonest to further their own ends. These ends may be the evasion or recovery of a debt, or some similar dispute, in which they know that their connection with the Church will influence the Magistrate."¹ We gather from this that the higher and stronger the position taken is, the greater danger there is that unfair advantage will be taken of it.

Again, not only are the rank and position of the ecclesiastics much in evidence, but their churches and other buildings are very conspicuous, no doubt purposely so. How far the erection of such structures is judicious is perhaps not for us outsiders to say. This at least is certain, the Chinese, with their superstitions regarding "Feng Shui," or the occult influences of wind and water, view these lofty buildings with the utmost detestation. I have already mentioned the Pei T'ang at Peking and the cathedral at Tientsin. At Canton too the cathedral with its two lofty spires is the most conspicuous landmark in the

¹ *Notes on Manchuria*, by Col. Browne, Military Attaché, *China Blue Book*. No. 1 of 1899, p. 51.

city as one approaches it from Hongkong. At all the Treaty Ports the Roman Catholic missions own a considerable amount of real property, being at Chinkiang and other places the largest landowners of all the Europeans. It is impossible in any of these settlements to ignore the presence of the Church or of the work which it is carrying on.

I now turn to a pleasanter subject, the spiritual and philanthropical work of the Church. Knowing how distasteful statistics are to the general reader, I content myself with stating that according to the *Civiltà Catholica* (February 1904) there are in China Missions under the direction of ten different Orders. These contain thirty-eight Bishops and Vicars Apostolic, two Apostolic Prefects, and 1,622 priests, of whom 1,141 are European and 481 native. The number of converts without including catechumens, who are very numerous in some dioceses, amounts to over 783,000.¹ To show the thoroughness and variety of the work, let me give a few particulars of what is done by the Jesuit Mission at Shanghai. At Zi Ka Wei, six miles from the foreign settlement, is the headquarters of the mission, including a college containing 303 pupils, seventy-five of whom are heathen. All these study Chinese, and most of them French or English. The College possesses an observatory, a natural history museum, and publishes a Chinese newspaper twice a week, and a monthly magazine. Hard by are a Carmelite monastery, and orphanage with 277 inmates, and an industrial school, where various trades are taught.

The convent, with a total population of 784 persons, contains, in addition to the buildings devoted solely to religious use, a girls' school, an orphanage for 520 girls, a school for the deaf and dumb, an asylum for old women, a dispensary, and workrooms for female workers.

In Shanghai itself and its suburbs we find, together with

¹ I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to those who have taken so much trouble to supply me with the information necessary for the compilation of this paper, especially to Miss Berkeley, of Spetchley, who has interested herself on my behalf; and, thanks to her, I have been aided most kindly by the Reverend Rector of Stonyhurst, who was good enough to invite me to the college to consult the works in the library, and by the Reverend Father Anthony Huonder, of Luxemburg, editor of the *Catholic Missioner*.

a cathedral and other churches, four schools under the direction of the priests and sisters, one for boys of all classes, another for European girls of the educated classes, an institution extremely popular with the foreign community, a third school for European and Eurasian girls—a most laudable institution, in many instances the salvation of unfortunate girls—and, lastly, a school for Chinese boys in the native city. Moreover, the French Municipal school is under the charge of three ecclesiastics (*Petits Frères de Marie*). The Mission has also in Shanghai two hospitals, two almshouses, and a dispensary. Further, we must notice that the European Municipal hospitals, one for foreigners, the other for Chinese, are both, as far as nursing goes, under the direction of the sisters of St. Vincent de Paul. At the other Treaty Ports, too, similar works of mercy are being carried on, though not on such a large scale. Orphans are rescued and are taught useful trades. Several of the convents have earned a name for the beauty of their productions. The sisters of charity at Ningpo have started a school of embroidery, where silk brocades made by the converts are embroidered by the women and girls, who have been taught by the sisters.¹ Fabrics of marvellously beautiful and skilful workmanship are produced. Girls at the Hankow convent are taught to make lace, a manufacture hitherto unknown in China, there being no Chinese word for lace.

I hope that I may also be allowed to say a word on the scientific achievements of the Jesuit and Lazarist fathers. There are, and have been, among them men of the highest scientific attainments, who could have won wealth and renown at home, but who have devoted themselves and their talents to teaching Chinese scholars the secular side of our Christian civilisation, in order that in one way or another they might break down the wall of heathen ignorance and superstition, and thus prepare a road to higher things.² Father Ricci, the great pioneer of Chinese missions, and the first priest to live at Peking, was

¹ Heathen and Christian girls are taught together; there are usually more of the former than of the latter.

² “*Les sciences, qui sont un puissant auxiliaire pour la religion.*”—BISHOP FAVIER.

employed as Imperial astronomer from 1601 to the time of his death in 1610, and in 1628 Adam Schaal (or Schall) was appointed head of the Astronomical Board, a post that was afterwards held by Father Verbiest in the reign of K'ang Hsi. These two ecclesiastics made the wonderful instruments for the observatory on the city wall of Peking, instruments which, I regret to say, were looted by the French and German troops after the capture of Peking. They did their work so roughly that the whole observatory was left a wreck.¹ The mantles of Schaal and Verbiest have at the present time fallen on the shoulders of Father Chevalier, the director of the observatory at Zi Ka Wei. It is not too much to say that at Shanghai he is regarded as "the clerk of the weather." His observations and forecasts are telegraphed daily to the meteorological station on the "Bund," or river front. In the typhoon season no captain of a man-of-war or master of a merchant vessel will take his ship out without first carefully studying the weather report from the observatory.

Nor is astronomy the only branch of science to which the Jesuit and Lazarist fathers have devoted their talents. The services of Father Armand David of the Lazarist Mission at Peking to natural history are not to be forgotten. With the collection of birds, animals, and other objects of nature, which he made in North China and Mongolia, he started a museum at Peking, an institution which proved a great attraction to the mandarins. It is said that the Empress herself visited the museum incognito.² It is much to be regretted that Father David's health broke down completely, so that he was forced to return to Europe. His scientific work has been carried on by Father Heude and others.

There is, perhaps, not as much intercourse as one could wish between the European lay community in China and the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, owing mainly to the fact that so few Englishmen are fluent in the use of French, while a good many of the priests speak no English. Some of the Spanish and Italian fathers too are ignorant of French, and I have known Chinese to be the medium of communication between a British Consul and a Spaniard. Those of us

¹ *China in Convulsion*, p. 545.

² Bishop Favier's *Peking*, p. 231.

who, like myself, have held official posts, are constantly brought into contact with the priests, and to me, at any rate, that contact has been very pleasant. I look back with feelings of hearty goodwill to so many of these gentlemen, from Father Fitzpatrick of the Lazarist Mission—an Irishman, who was always a welcome guest at our student-interpreters' mess at Peking when I was a youngster in the service, to the young Father at Chefoo, who when the hard day came to me—as it comes to so many in China—when one must separate from wife and children perhaps for years, sent me as kind a letter of Christian sympathy as a man could wish to receive. My duty did not take me into the far west of China, but many of my colleagues there have told me what a comfort to them the society of the fathers—almost the only Europeans whom they saw—was to them.

The Church that produces such men and does the work which I have tried inadequately to describe has surely the right to claim the sympathy of members of the Church of England. I trust that the readers of this magazine will join in heartily and sincerely wishing our fellow workers in a good cause God-speed.

CLEMENT F. R. ALLEN.

THE JAPAN CHURCH.

THE Nippon Seikōkwai signifies "The Japan Church." In doctrine, worship, and discipline, as set forth in her prayer-book and in her canons and constitution, she is closely united to our Anglican Church. The history of her origin is full of interest. Bishop Bickersteth, having received consecration on February 2, 1886, left England on March 6, and arrived in Japan shortly before Easter. It is uncertain whether prior to his arrival he had seriously contemplated the expediency or even the possibility of taking the great step which was to signalise his episcopate. But Bishop Bickersteth was pre-eminently a man of faith and courage, one, too, who had deeply studied all Church questions and whose mind was singularly free from party bias. Thus he gained at once the confidence of our English and American missionaries then in the field, and found in Bishop Williams, of the American Church, whose long years of faithful service had won him on all sides reverence and love, a sympathetic co-operator. The Japanese Christians, too, with the characteristic enterprise of their countrymen, were ready to go forward and loyally follow the new leader who had come among them. The times were favourable, the great opportunity was seized ; with untiring energy and aided by willing assistants, and surely under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the Bishop worked out his great plan ; and in the month of February, in the year 1887, at a Synod convened in the city of Osaka, the Nippon Seikōkwai had its birth. The Church of Japan with not 4,000 members within its pale and with over 40,000,000 outside ! The Church of Japan with as yet not one Japanese priest to serve it ! We stand amazed when we think about it. Though I myself arrived in Japan only one year after the Bishop, the Nippon Seikōkwai had already been two months in existence.

It must, of course, be borne in mind that able missionaries of the English and American Churches had been working in Japan since the year 1859, and thus the ground had been preparing, so there was really no undue haste or precipitancy in the action taken, our real cause for thankfulness to God being that, when the fulness of the time had come, He sent a Bishop from England endued with wisdom for a task from the magnitude of which he did not shrink but set himself without any faltering hesitation to carry out. From that day onwards there was organisation and system where previously the missions of the S.P.G., the C.M.S., and of the American Church were working in good fellowship, it is true, but largely independently of one another and without concentration. From that day onwards there was presented to the Japanese in the Seikōkwai an infant institution born in their own country, appealing to their loyalty and devotion, though necessarily depending in the main for many years to come on the support and guardianship of the Churches of the Anglican communion, from which it had sprung into being.

As a missionary of the Church of England to Japan, I duly became, as every one of our clerical missionaries to Japan must become, a licensed minister of the Japanese Church, and I would again impress on our Churchmen at home that for us the progress of Christianity in Japan means the progress of the Church of Japan, of whose origin I have now briefly given account. We are directly concerned with Christianity in no other of its manifold forms and developments. Our hopes are bound up, so far as Japan is concerned, with the destinies of the Nippon Seikōkwai. If in the far-off issue of events any Church other than the Seikōkwai comes to be acknowledged as the national Church of Japan, or if the Seikōkwai itself so far swerves from its original principles and doctrines as to make communion between itself and the Church of England no longer possible, then the main purpose to which we have directed our efforts will have failed.

What, then, after seventeen years of existence is the position in which the Seikōkwai finds itself to-day? What are its prospects, its special dangers, and its special needs? I hardly propose to make separate headings of these

questions, for in writing on one I shall probably find myself involved in the others, but let me at any rate begin with the first.

With regard to the position our Church holds in Japan, the point which I think needs to be emphasised is that we are still, and likely to continue so for many years, in "the day of little things." We need have no shame in confessing this. People are dazzled by the almost phenomenal advance that Japan has made in bringing herself abreast with the most enlightened and civilised nations of the world; and there are many who would fain believe and claim for her that with equal speed she is becoming a Christian nation. For one thing, the Japanese are well aware that the new civilisation they are adopting is intimately bound up with Christianity, and, because it is so, would encourage themselves in the belief that Christianity is sufficiently accepted in so far as it renders their civilisation more complete and more admirable. If well-ordered hospitals and prisons, homes for the aged and orphans, the Red Cross Society and other similar institutions have had their rise largely from Christian influence, they think it must argue that they themselves are imbued with the Christian spirit, and are sufficiently Christians in the eyes of the world, if they too are forward to promote these things. There is, moreover, no question that those who present Christ to the Japanese as the moral teacher, the social reformer, the blameless example to men, the extender of the principle of love even to our enemies, who lay stress on Christian works rather than on the Christian faith, seem outwardly to prosecute their labours with greater success and to gain more public recognition than the missionaries of our own Church.

Again, we hear and read from time to time of great evangelising movements; and the main object of these is to awaken in the hearts of unbelievers a sense of sin, and to direct them to Christ as Saviour. Among a curious and impressionable people like the Japanese it is no matter for surprise that thousands will attend the public preachings, and that from the audiences a considerable number will stand forth as inquirers. But other Christian bodies are certainly more active in evangelising, or rather in

evangelising on a large scale, than our own Church. The reasons for their being so are easily given. First, their missionaries for the most part believe there is nothing of equal importance to the proclaiming of the simple message of salvation to perishing souls. (I would use their own language.) Secondly, they welcome opportunities of all uniting together in organising these great movements. Thirdly, there are always certain famous travelling evangelists in the world who are ready to respond to invitations to conduct a campaign in Japan.

"What has become a great factor in the evangelistic work outside our own Church" (I quote from our *South Tokyo Diocesan Magazine* of August, 1903) "is the inviting to Japan of noted speakers and evangelists from abroad. This is entrusted to a special department of the Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions. In quick succession there have appeared in Japan since October, 1901, Mr. J. R. Mott, Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, Rev. R. A. Toirey, D.D., of the Moody Institute in Chicago, Mr. W. E. Geil, a Baptist Evangelist, Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, Dr. Franson of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, and Rev. George F. Pentecost, D.D., sent out under the auspices of the American Board, and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (North)."

These evangelising movements, while they last, seem to be the great Christianising force in Japan. A flame of enthusiasm is aroused; reports spread which lead the Anglican world to suppose that Japan is fast yielding to the Faith; and naturally Churchmen expect to hear that the Church in a field so favourable is also making rapid progress. But in these great movements, as I have already stated, it is not our Church which comes into prominence. It may even be questioned whether they are not rather disturbing than helpful to us. Nor do they prove so productive in rich results as their promoters themselves look for them to be. We have their own testimony to this effect. The Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., writing in a report after one of these great movements had subsided, confessed that:

"The weak point in following up the general interest awakened was evidently a lack of Christians able and willing to do private individual work with inquirers."

A leading Congregationalist also expressed himself as follows :

"In connection with Dr. R. A. Toirey's visit to Kyoto and other cities a large number of persons gave in their names as having decided to be followers of Christ. As was the case after the meetings of Mr. Mott, it has been a source of disappointment that so small a proportion of those taking this step have allied themselves with the Churches."

The large number of other bodies of Christians by which our Church is surrounded makes our position, as compared with the Greeks and Roman Catholics, a particularly difficult one, for the English, Canadian, and American missionaries, to whatever body they belong, are united by the bonds of race and language ; they meet in friendly intercourse in society, and, while attached to different groups, are regarded by the Japanese none the less as working together for the conversion of their country to Christianity. Furthermore, the title of "protestant" is generally used by the Japanese, and to *them*, whether we like the title or not, we are all protestants just as we are all English speakers. And it is both inevitable and desirable that there should be fellowship among us up to a certain point ; but our difficulties come in when our ways part, as very soon they must, even for those who go further with them than others. We have worked together in the translation of our Bible, we can avail ourselves of much of their Christian literature, we can accept their invitations to the opening and prize-giving of their schools, we can attend certain common meetings and conferences ; but when it comes to the question of interchange of pulpits and common communions, then, if the Seikōkwai is to preserve its definiteness, if in the time to come it is to stand secure on the foundations that God has enabled us to lay, in the face of the charge of prejudice and intolerance, and of rejecting overtures to unity, we are compelled in very faithfulness not to give way. Our Japanese Christians, too, must learn from us why loyalty compels us jealously to guard our sacred trust, that they too may become faithful guardians of their Church in the day when the foreign missionaries must leave them to stand alone.

In thus describing the position of our Church, I have

already in some measure given an idea as to what its prospects are. They are inspiringly hopeful. If our Church seems for the present to be but one body in what may be called the Anglican group, yet it can hardly be doubted, for the signs are so abundant, that it is the English-speaking race which, more than any other, exercises influence over the Japanese nation, and it is England herself which stands highest in her regards. In this connection it cannot fail to give us Churchmen cause for thankfulness that, while there is hardly a Christian sect in Canada and America that is not represented in Japan, the Christianity of England is represented almost exclusively by our Church, and this means that, whereas the mission forces from Canada and America are divided, England practically throws its whole weight into the scale of the Seikōkwai. First, then, we have good grounds for believing that it is the English-speaking missions which have the greatest future before them. Secondly, that of all the Christian bodies which constitute the English-speaking group, the Seikōkwai shows most signs of progress, though this progress will be effected not by trying to force ourselves into notice, but rather by willingly devoting ourselves to patient thorough work.

Our Church consists at present of some 12,000 members, so that there are other bodies which are still numerically superior to our own. Statistics, however, as to the total membership of the various Christian bodies cannot be confidently relied on, because, while it is easy to record the number of new members added to the rolls during a year, it is notorious that every year sees many fallings away. We endeavour ourselves to make our statistics as accurate as possible, and, owing to the fact that our converts must all pass through the catechumenate stage, and that the solemn answers they are required to make in the baptismal service impose on our missionaries the duty of carefully preparing each candidate, and owing further to the fact that the rite of confirmation follows on that of baptism, the members of our Church are certainly better grounded in their faith than others and prove more steadfast in their adherence to it. I myself have had cases where young men, warmed by sudden impulse, have desired to receive

baptism too hurriedly, and, chafing against the length of preparation, have left to seek for baptism elsewhere. Therefore, when we give our total membership returned as 12,000, the number may be regarded as approximately correct; and we shall best estimate the solid progress it represents when we take into account the time that must be spent in individual teaching in order that every candidate at his baptism may profess with intelligence and sincerity his belief in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed. It must also be borne in mind that as congregations increase, so pastoral work claims more of a missionary's attention, and that numbers become added to the Church not so much through direct evangelising as through the gradual and more satisfactory process of friend bringing friend and one member of a family bringing another.

A question which is frequently asked in connection with the prospects of our Church is—From what class do we chiefly draw our converts? It is a question, I am thankful to say, to which no very definite answer can be given. Our Church has its stations in all parts of Japan, and draws its members from all classes of society, and our work is carried on as actively among the women as it is among the men. Taking my own congregation in Tokyo as a sample, I may state that the oldest member on my Church Council is a jinriksha man, whereas his two colleagues are men of excellent education and hold high positions as teachers of English in prominent schools. We have the poorest of old women, and others whose husbands hold good positions in Government offices. Among our young men we have the son of a policeman whose whole family is Christian, the son of a well-to-do chemist who is the only Christian member of his family, some three or four whose fathers are farmers, and the son of a leading statesman. One admirable point about the Japanese, which makes their country a peculiarly favourable soil for the growth of Christianity, is the absence of all class prejudice, so that in no country can we find in the Church rich and poor uniting together more happily in Christian fellowship.

I have said nothing yet about our native ministry, and

it is here we touch the most serious problem of all. So long as the Japanese are content that their Church should be served by bishops and clergy from abroad there need be no disquietude. The time has not yet come when we can confidently expect that the Seikōkwai can be furnished with a sufficient supply of efficient native clergy. There are many difficulties in the way of obtaining suitable men. Years ago, when the country had not reached its present high state of development, when colleges and technical schools were few, and when there were not the numerous professional openings that there are to-day, it was more possible for missionaries to attach young men to themselves, to train them to be their helpers, and to inspire in them a desire to devote their lives to the ministry. Such a one was the Rev. John Imai, who in early life was taken into the household of the late Archdeacon Shaw. Such a one, too, was the Rev. Christopher Yoshizawa, another disciple of the Archdeacon's. We are fortunate in having these and other such men, but, as I have said, they are not so easily gained to-day, for the times have changed, and the urgent call for workers often necessitates our using men too soon, and sending them out to be teachers before they have really had sufficient training and teaching themselves.

For the training of clergy we trust mainly now to the institution of the divinity school, with its regular course of lectures and system of rules. Of these there are two—or three, if we count the Hostel attached to our St. Andrew's centre in Tokyo. The original divinity school founded by Bishop Bickersteth had unfortunately to be given up, and the rooms above the lecture halls are now occupied by Christian boarder students, who have been drawn to our part of Tokyo for their education. The divinity schools find it difficult to attract the better class of young men, who naturally seek for diplomas and degrees in the recognised schools and universities of their country. In England a university career is the best prelude to taking orders. In the university of Tokyo, where there is no recognition of Christianity, what is a Christian student who would contemplate taking orders to do? One who, with a real desire to study what will best bear on his

Christian profession is now taking the English literature course in preference to the course of political economy on which he had at first entered. It demands much self-sacrifice on the part of young men either, for the sake of entering the ministry to forego taking a degree, or, after taking a degree, to begin afresh with the study of theology in a divinity school and prepare themselves for a profession which will give them no status in the eyes of their countrymen, and which offers no inducement of salary. We have cause to be thankful under the circumstances for what our divinity schools have achieved, and for the supply of catechists and clergy they have already trained.

There are two divinity schools ; one of these is under the C.M.S. in Osaka, the other is attached to the American Mission in Tokyo. Besides these there is the St. Andrew's Hostel for divinity students, which is a comparatively new institution and something of an experiment. What we want above all things are clergy who are content to devote themselves to the humbler work of the pastorate. Fifty Japanese clergy in six dioceses, and working among a population of forty-five millions, is a very little seed, and perhaps it will surprise some that there should be any talk yet about the creation of a Japanese episcopate. But it does not surprise us who live and work among the Japanese, for they are a people whose active imagination runs on and sees things completed that are hardly begun—a people, too, to be envied for their confidence in themselves, whom no false modesty deters from aspiring to fill high positions, and it must be confessed that those who rise to them generally fill them well. We are a more slow-moving people, more sobered by a sense of our responsibilities perhaps, or more bound by traditions, but it is our duty to study and adapt ourselves to the temperament of the Japanese, and not to discourage them or fail to turn to good account their national characteristics. Between the danger of letting them hurry us on too fast and the danger of damping their aspirations there is a safe middle course, and that is, to bring what their ambition aims at into the very front, to let them see that what is in their minds is in ours too, and that we are serving no purpose of our own in withholding

anything from them. If this is the line we take, and if we are as ready to discuss the possibilities of a Japanese episcopate as they are to suggest it, and to take what steps are already possible towards its realisation, they will be quite content to let events take their natural course, though to them the vision may be one of few, while to us it may be one of many, days. Bishop Foss of Osaka wrote in answer to the inquiries put forth by the United Board of Missions, and published in 1903 :

“ It is undoubtedly desirable that a native episcopate should be contemplated. One prerequisite is that there should be a man (or men) of sufficient faith, knowledge, and personal character as to commend himself to the Christians and ‘ them which are without ’ as fit for the post. Another is that his salary should come mainly if not wholly from native sources.

“ We are preparing canons already with a view to placing the question very fully before the Church. We are also having collections at all public functions in which a bishop exercises his office (Ordinations, Confirmations, &c.), with the view of preparing a fund for the salary of such a bishop.”

To the inquiry, “ Would the appointment, even in present circumstances, by the existing English or American bishops, of carefully chosen and well-trained native clergymen as assistant bishops be desirable ? ” he replies :

“ The Church in this diocese at all events has not so far advanced as to make it advisable to appoint assistant bishops. It would seem better to appoint likely men as priests among priests before trying so far-reaching an experiment as to admit them to a higher order.”

Some of those who read this article will be somewhat disappointed, and will not see in it enough to justify my declaring that the prospect before us is inspiringly hopeful. Admiration for our brave allies in the Far East is deservedly running high, and in the mighty war they are now waging it is not only their unflinching courage and their thorough efficiency at all points that elicit this admiration, but the Christian qualities they are exhibiting in their self-control, the care they extend to the wounded of the enemy, and in the absence of anything like bitter, uncharitable hatred manifested against Russia. To the world at large Japan would seem to be more Christian

than the Christian country against which it is making war. It is because people are drawing their inferences from what appear as these outward evidences of Christianity that I have tried to direct attention to what is the actual condition of the Church in Japan. The conduct of the Japanese in the present war both at home and in the field creates a problem for us which it is difficult to solve. Are they a heathen nation or are they Christians? They could hardly answer the question themselves. On the one hand, they are imbued with an almost fanatical patriotism, and are proud that Japan, relying on nothing but her old patriotic spirit and with no religion but her old ancestral faiths, can prove herself equal, if not superior, to the most advanced nations of the West. On the other hand, they boldly claim for themselves that their cause is the cause of God, the cause of humanity and righteousness, and invite the sympathies of Christians by claiming to be truer Christians than their foes. We might almost turn to our Lord, as His disciple John did, and say, "Master, we found a nation fighting its battles in Thy name and we forbid it because it followeth not with us." We may do well to ponder on His answer that "There is no man which shall do a miracle in My name that can lightly speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us is on our part."

L. B. CHOLMONDELEY.

FOREIGN MISSIONS AND BRITISH SEAMEN.

FROM the Sea of Galilee to every ocean in the world, from the Far East to the Far West, from the first century of our Lord till the present, sailors have, in one form or another, had a share in the evangelisation of the world. True, where the Church has neglected their spiritual needs, many seamen have been largely hinderers of the Gospel; but others, who have been religiously ministered to and cared for, have been devout examples of the Christ. No general survey of the Foreign Mission field can, therefore, be complete which ignores the personal influence of sea-going men.

A few years since, the widow of a former chaplain of the fleet, on different Sundays, attended two services in a provincial cathedral, when the claims of Foreign Missions were being eloquently pleaded. She was greatly distressed to hear sailors, amongst whom she had spent her married life, held up on both occasions to public contumely as hinderers of the Gospel. But inquiry of the two deputations elicited that they each referred to certain distant seaports in which no religious ministrations whatever were provided by the Church for the crews in those harbours. The reference was, moreover, to British merchant ships in which there had never been, at sea or in port, from year to year, any united acknowledgment of Almighty God, His day, His word, or His worship, and where neither man nor boy knelt in the forecabin in daily prayer. How could it be otherwise but that such neglected men, shut up from boyhood in a prayerless and irreligious atmosphere, having no privacy for prayer, and not making any public confession of Christ crucified, would become incapable of ruling aright their animal passions and their general conduct when ashore in strange ports! Freed from professional discipline, and

the restraints of those who know and love them, and landed as strangers amongst heathen or godless Europeans, where many of those with whom they came into personal contact were pecuniarily interested in their moral ruin, and where the Church had no friendly hand for them, no ministries afloat, what else can reasonably be expected?

The late Bishop Westcott was deeply interested in foreign missions, and he also inherited from his great predecessor in the See of Durham a warm concern in spiritual provision for sea-going men. He once remarked that: "It might be said, not without truth, that our most prominent missionaries are our sailors. How little have we yet done to prepare and discipline them for their inevitable office!"

The late Archbishop Benson, speaking in 1887, said: "There is no continent, no shore, and no island in which England is not at work; and, therefore, in which the leaven of the Church of England must not also be at work. We are introducing corruptions into society, intemperance to a horrible extent, all manner of evil amongst native races, and the Church's business is to realise all that and to make the advent of an English ship a blessing and not a curse to any land as it heaves in sight."

Even more forcible were the words of the late Archbishop Thomson of York, twenty-one years before, when presiding over The Missions to Seamen meeting in 1866. His Grace then said: "How can it be supposed that any foreign mission will prosper so long as you wholly neglect the Christian condition of the sailor at home? So long as you let every ship go out carrying with it moral corruption to heathen nations, they will necessarily judge of us from what they see. . . . By what stretch of imagination will they be able to realise us as a God-fearing, God-seeking, and God-loving people? . . . I therefore say to every person who takes an interest in foreign missions, that this home-mission work (to seamen) seems to me its necessary complement. Without some such agency, the work of our foreign missions must fail, and fail most deservedly."

Much has since been done to amend the neglect of the shipping in home ports, so prevalent in 1866. So that,

speaking from the chair at another meeting of The Missions to Seamen, in 1894, the Bishop of Chester could say: "Sailors are really the missionaries of England, of civilisation, and of all Christianity. They go to all parts of the world. Their sound is gone out, and is constantly going out into all lands; and the question is, What is the tone of that sound to be? . . . The missionaries of England, the missionaries of our Church, are our people as a whole, laity as well as clergy, and very largely, of course, in the forefront are our sailors who come into contact with all sorts and conditions of men of all countries, Therefore I venture to claim for this Society the title not merely of 'Missions to Seamen,' but of 'Missions to the world through Seamen.'"

Men of the sea are not, however, "all tarred with the same brush." Crews are not all alike, as employers themselves differ. Many sailors are living witnesses unto the Christ unto the uttermost parts of the earth. Many officers and foremast seamen are Church workers on the high seas. There are many British merchants in whose ships the Bible is frequently read, wherein seamen and sailor-lads kneel night and morning in prayer, and where the Lord's Day is devoutly observed. It is to multiply the number of such missionary crews that The Missions to Seamen exists at home and abroad. There is need for prevailing prayer that such agency afloat may be largely increased, so that the Redeemer's Kingdom and glory may be extended over the seas, and that the British flag, with its crimson cross, may, in the vessels of every shipping company, become an emblem of Christian influence and high national character on all the waters of the globe. Such worshipping crews are object lessons "among all nations" of the living power of God's "saving health."

True, the struggle of modern competition in trade is substituting unnecessary Sunday work in foreign ports for Sunday worship in the ships of many thoughtless British merchants. And when such crews return again to the high seas, the irritation thus caused in port forbids their assembling as before for a divine service which includes the reading of the fourth Commandment. But it was not always so. The records of the Tudor sea show that the

early merchant adventurers gave most stringent instructions that the crews should be given opportunities of worshipping the God and Father of all, every day of the week. There are still some shipowners who encourage their crews in the devout observance of the Lord's Day, and some who even supply the necessary books for prayer and praise, as is generally done for passengers. Thanks greatly to the S.P.C.K., "Service Boxes," devised and issued by The Missions to Seamen, containing a Bible, Books of Common Prayer, Hymn Books, and a volume of short sermons, have been supplied to about five hundred ships.

Thus, in many British cargo ships, the captains themselves, to the great comfort of their crews, conduct divine worship on Sundays. In other cargo vessels this is done regularly, with the captain's consent, by one of the officers, or of the engineers, or of the apprentices, or by others on board. In some of these merchant vessels united prayers are offered daily, with excellent effect on the happiness and morale of their crews.

With tact and due consideration it is often found that, of the 40,000 foreign "whites" serving under the British flag, those on board ships "where prayer is wont to be made" cordially join with their British shipmates in worshipping our common Father according to the national religion of the national flag under which they serve. Foreign seamen of many faiths constantly join with Britons in the divine services held by The Missions to Seamen chaplains on board ships, as well as in their special Seamen's Churches ashore.

In the last quarter of a century those chaplains *sold* 112,000 Bibles in thirty-one languages, and 20,000 Prayer Books in nine languages to seagoing men, chiefly in British ports. The 39,000 Asiatics in our merchant ships should carry back to their homes some Christian influence. In some few vessels manned by Asiatic crews, the Europeans on board unite for divine worship, which is a most valuable witness for Christ to their heathen and Mohammedan shipmates.

Nevertheless there are at least 20,000 ships owned by British merchants in which God is not unitedly acknow-

ledged by public worship from year to year, most of which are never even visited by a clergyman. Yet the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1897 resolved: "That it is the duty of the Church to aid in providing for the moral and spiritual needs of our seamen of the mercantile service, who in vast numbers visit colonial ports . . . by the ministrations of clergy specially set apart for this work." It is of course impossible to set apart special clergy to minister on board ships in all the smaller ports of the world frequented by British traders. This, however, may and should be done in all the larger ports abroad as well as at home. But until special clergy can be provided, might not the Bishops and the shore clergy in many ports abroad be induced to take to the water, and to officiate on board ships in their several harbours and rivers at least on week days?

Many missions to the heathen and for neglected Europeans in distant lands have been started or assisted on almost every seaboard by the personal efforts of devout seamen, unassisted by clergymen. Who does not know that a C.M.S. Mission in the Far West, to North American Indians, now under one or more bishops and several clergy, owed its origin to a seaman; and what the Terra del Fuegian Mission at the other extremity of that continent owes to another sailor; and the Niger Mission to a third sea-officer; whilst away in the South Seas the missionaries have often hailed with pleasure the warm-hearted Christian sympathy and active personal help freely given to their spiritual charges by praying sailors from the ships at the anchorages?

When a Turkish officer overheard a number of British sailors joining together in praise and prayer, in the open air under the trees in Crete, he remarked that "If all Christians were like these, there would be very few Mohammedans in the world." In these and many similar quotable cases, it was laymen who acted without any clergyman to instigate or guide them.

But let us turn to the Far East, and to the missionaries' side of the question—what sailors owe to them.

When, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Protestant missions began in China and Japan, it was found

that European sailors were already long known to the natives, but had not always by their habits of life commended the "Jesus doctrine." As experience was gained, the missionaries found that it was almost essential to the success of their message to the heathen in the treaty ports, that the European and American shipping should be provided with the ministries of the Gospel. Set apart for the service of the heathen, the missionaries could not themselves step aside to devote themselves to European and American crews. But they instigated and helped the foreign communities in the trading ports to make religious provision in some degree for the foreign shipping. Hence, under the active fostering personal care of the missionaries, grew up, bit by bit, special Seamen's Missions at Hong Kong, Shanghai, Yokohama, Kobe, and elsewhere on those coasts. As experience advanced, the help of The Missions to Seamen was invited, but, as a growing society of small means, it could only give partial help. So that three out of the four special shipping chaplaincies now maintained in China and Japan seas are largely dependent on the personal influence of the missionaries and the gifts of the local Christian communities for their continued existence. One other port chaplaincy so founded has indeed ceased. Oddly enough, the numerous heathen crews of British ships trading with the Far East, which include 10,000 Chinamen, are not included in this missionary effort.

The gratitude of sailors for this spiritual care was heartily expressed in 1892, to the Rev. A. Gurney Goldsmith, M.A., then The Missions to Seamen chaplain for Hong Kong Harbour, where fifty of them were bidding farewell to one another under "the banner of love" at the Lord's Table in St. Peter's Seamen's Church. Several sailors, speaking for all present, exclaimed afterwards: "Thank God for the missionaries!" In grateful remembrance of Bishop Corfe's devoted labours when he was a naval chaplain, his former comrades have generously contributed to the Bishop's Korean Mission; whilst the officers and men of the Army and Navy have formed a Missionary Union amongst themselves to concentrate the attention of the land and sea forces of the Crown on the promise that

were held at all, afloat or ashore, in the last recorded year. Still, in those harbours where a spiritual worker, clerical or lay, is "specially set apart for this work," services afloat are fairly maintained, and some of the workers "look toward the sea" and endeavour to organise regular worship to be conducted for the crews by those on board. As many as 3,200 services and meetings specially for sailors were held afloat or ashore in seventeen seaports of the Gibraltar diocese in the year 1903-4. We are not informed as to Confirmations or as to Communion for sailors afloat or ashore, but 575 sea-going men in ten ports were induced to eschew the public-house by becoming total abstainers, and 124 seamen in nine harbours joined the diocesan Guild of Holy Living.

If all seaboard dioceses abroad would emulate the noble example of the scattered diocese of Gibraltar, and possibly improve upon its methods, great blessing might also reach the several dioceses; and perhaps complaints of the misconduct of British crews in certain harbours might be less frequent and less severe.

We would conclude in the words of the late Sir George Baden-Powell, addressed to the Norwich Church Congress in 1895: "I have seen more foreign ports than it is allotted to most men to see; and having this experience, it has given rise to a feeling of personal indignation that our Church and nation have done so little for the religious and moral welfare of our seamen afloat as has been done in the past. I should like to see the British flag the recognised emblem of a Christian ship with a Christian crew on board, and I should like to see every British sailor all over the world—and remember our British sailors are our point of contact with native races all over the world—I should like to see the British seaman become, not only the pioneer of our trade and commerce, but a messenger of the Gospel of Peace."

W. DAWSON,
Commander, R.N.

EDITORIAL.

*Introductions
to
our readers.*

The Bishop of Mashonaland, Dr. Gaul, who writes on the possibilities of an African kraal (which is pronounced like our English word crawl), is the greatest living authority on the subject of which he treats. It is most encouraging that the Bishop is able to write as he does, "As to the future I am very hopeful indeed. . . . If Church and State work hand in hand on their own lines, all that is worth preserving in the native life and tradition will be transformed by religion and true civilisation."

The Bishop of Madagascar (Dr. King), after describing some of the strong and weak points of the Malagasy character, refers to the very real danger lest the native should be allowed to imagine that proficiency in hymn singing and similar exercises is a proof that he has accepted the Christian faith. The danger is one which exists in every Mission. Some time ago a missionary on the other side of Africa sent his native boy across a river to round up some cattle and bring them to him. As the day passed without their appearing, the missionary went in quest of his boy, whom he found sitting peacefully on the river bank engaged in singing "I would like to be an angel and with the angels stand!" Meanwhile the cows had wandered away into the unknown.

Dr. Weitbrecht, who writes on a Mohammedan villager's faith, has been working in connection with the C.M.S. in India for nearly thirty years, and is a Fellow of the Punjab University. He has recently been engaged in revising the Urdu translation of the New Testament.

The Rev. L. B. Cholmondeley has lived in Japan for about eighteen years. He has been himself engaged in many different kinds of missionary work, and is well qualified, by his intimate knowledge of the language and the people, to deal with the problems which he discusses.

Church had formally refused to acknowledge the validity of Anglican orders, it was incumbent upon it to consecrate a Bishop who should superintend work both amongst their own countrymen and amongst members of the Roman Communion in Brazil. As far as we at present know, the American Bishop and his clergy have not adopted controversial methods of teaching. At the same time they are prepared to welcome all members of the Roman Communion who desire to join them and who are dissatisfied with the doctrines or ritual of the Roman Church as taught in South America to-day.

*The enlistment
of native Chris-
tians in the
Indian army.*

THE Indian papers which we have recently received express much interest in the decision which the Indian Government has arrived at to add one company of native Christians to each of the twelve Madras regiments. According to the last Government census there are 983,000 native Christians in the Madras presidency, so that there will be a large number of potential soldiers from whom to make a selection. We welcome the decision of the Government for two reasons—first, because, as was the case in the days of the Roman Empire, there is every reason to expect that Christian Indian soldiers will prove even more loyal, courageous, and efficient than their heathen fellow-countrymen, and secondly, because it will be no small help to the Christian natives themselves to be brought together in this way. We trust that the Government will make provision for the worship of these Christian soldiers to the same extent that it makes provision for the worship of Hindus and Mohammedans.

*Congress of
Japanese re-
ligionists.*

IN a former issue of THE EAST AND THE WEST we commented upon the statement which had appeared in several of the daily papers to the effect that a Congress had been held in Japan to promote the establishment of a State Church in Japan which should represent a sort of eclectic mixture of Christianity and Shintooism.

We have now received the official report of this Congress, and are glad to see from it that no suggestion remotely resembling that which was telegraphed to England was actually made. The object of the Congress was to support the Government in view of the war with Russia, and at the same time to give representatives of Christianity, Shintooism, and Buddhism an opportunity of meeting each other and of declaring publicly that they desired to discountenance every form of direct or indirect persecution in the name of religion. All the speakers recognised that, while their ultimate objects were the same, there could be no possibility of union on the basis of doctrinal beliefs and religious practices between Christians and either Shintooists or Buddhists. Whilst we do not want to see either Christians or non-Christians attempting to minimise their points of difference with each other, nothing but good should come of a public declaration that a spirit of intolerance of persecution is foreign to the desire of both.

*The new High
Commissioner
for South Africa
on foreign
Missions.*

ALL who are interested in the Missions which are being carried on amongst the native races in South Africa will be interested to read what the newly-appointed High Commissioner thinks in regard to them. At a meeting recently held in Oxford, he (Lord Selborne) said :

"I wish to give my testimony as to the general value of mission work. I have no difficulty in stating the impression left on my mind, and that is the *profound contempt which I have no desire to disguise for those who sneer at missions*. If a man professes to be a Christian it is absolutely impossible for him to deny the necessity of the existence of missions. Therefore the critic is driven to pass his sneers on the actual missionaries who go and do the work, and I have noticed that he sets up a standard for them which is certainly a standard against which nothing can be said ; he expects every missionary to be as saintly as St. John, to be as wise as Solomon, and as great a statesman as St. Paul. The labour market does not supply the article, and if the critic will be good enough to apply the same test to himself and to his own profession, whatever it is, he will see that the standard is perhaps a little too exacting. Not only does the critic demand a standard that is obviously impossible, but he leaves out of sight the peculiar

difficulties and dangers of missionary life. I desire to protest against the unholy thirst for statistics ; it is perfectly impossible to put into statistics the result of mission work. I would go further and say it is absolutely bad for the missionary to have to try and write a report which will give a favourable impression at home. What have you to do with statistics in such a matter as this? The utmost a man can possibly do is to do his best, and the results really are not his business ; they rest with a Higher Power."

Letters to the Editor of
THE EAST AND
THE WEST.

THIS is the first issue of THE EAST AND THE WEST in which it has been found possible to insert letters addressed to the Editor. We are prepared to continue this practice whenever letters of exceptional interest to our readers are forthcoming. The first of the letters is from Dr. Ellicott, whom few of us are old enough to remember as other than Bishop of Gloucester. It is indeed a sign of the times that he should write and himself suggest the publication of a letter in which he urges that a simple ceremonial should be authorised in view of the proposed revival in its primitive form of the unction of the sick. Possibly the Lambeth Conference during its next session might be able to deal with this question. It is a matter on which authoritative guidance is eminently desirable. There are very few in England outside the Roman Communion who desire to see the restoration of extreme unction for the dying, but there are an increasing number who regard faith healing as part of the Church's work, and who desire that the much earlier custom of the unction of the sick in expectation of their recovery should be restored.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE UNCTION OF THE SICK.

Palace, Gloucester, January 17, 1905.

My dear Sir,—I beg to thank you for sending me *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, and especially for the admirable article in it written by Mr. Allen, to which I shall direct the attention of all with whom I may have any influence. It is an article which cannot be too highly praised, alike for its clearness and for its moderation. At present the Church is hardly in the position to make a definite pronouncement on the subject. Probably the publication of a simple ceremonial would help in the matter, but at present we are fast losing the recognition of the inspired words of St. James, and the results which in the case of ill defined diseases, such as rheumatism and the like, we might certainly expect to obtain for believing sufferers. The matter has been cursorily alluded to by the Bishops, but ancient as it is, and effective as it will in the sequel be found, it is too novel to be set forth otherwise than it has been set forth in the singularly valuable article in *THE EAST AND THE WEST*.

Very faithfully yours,

C. J. GLOUCESTER.

“ARE MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS JUSTIFIABLE?”

[The letter which we print below has been forwarded to us by a friend in Egypt. It appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette* in reply to a leading article which had appeared in the previous number of the *Gazette* commenting on the article in the last issue of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* entitled “Are Missions to Mohammedans justifiable?” We understand that the Christian missionary to whom the writer refers, whom he met at Aden, was the Hon. I. Keith Falconer, who was a professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and who afterwards went out as a missionary to Arabia, where he died. We need hardly point out how courageous is the action of the writer of this letter in furnishing his name and address whilst still living in Egypt as a professed convert from Islam.—ED.]

“Dear Sir,—I have read with astonishment your leading article in the *Egyptian Gazette* of 7th inst., on ‘Missions to Mohammedans,’

in which you conclude that Egypt's great need is not religion but sanitation. I don't want to enter into a controversy with you, but would like to tell you in a few words my own experience as a Moslem. I was a strict follower of the religion of Islam and was educated thoroughly in all its precepts, and that in lands where no other religion is known or taught, the Hadramout and the Yemen. Eventually I became Kadi al Islam, and so zealous was I that not only did I observe all that was imposed on me by the Koran, but many things in addition, such as the pilgrimage to Medina, the opening of my house to all Moslem strangers, the spending of many of the nights of Ramadan in prayer and reading of the Koran, and the supplying of the wants of the poor to the utmost of my ability. All that I did in order to find peace with God and rest for my soul, but the only result was increased fear and trouble of conscience, till I could find no pleasure in anything. I thought that this state must arise from our neglecting as Moslems the sacred duty imposed upon us by our religion, of waging war against the unbelievers, and, as I had not the power to do that, I tried to make amends for it by hating them with all my heart, till I could hardly bear the sight of a Christian. And so I remained without hope and without rest until, coming to Aden, I met a friend who had a very different feeling towards me and my fellow-Moslems from what you have. Having tasted the joy and blessing of a living Saviour, he was anxious that all the world should know Him too; for the Christian religion differs from all the other religions in the world in this, that it consists in the knowledge of a person, a living person, and not in the holding of dogmas and creeds. He preached to me Jesus, and I believed in Him as my Saviour and found peace. It meant that I lost everything, that my name was defamed, my life attempted, and I became a poor outcast and wanderer from my native land. Everybody forsook me, and I have been at times without bread to eat, but in the midst of it all my heart has been full of joy and love to God and all men, especially my own people.

"I am afraid, dear sir, from your article that you know not yet in your heart the presence of this Saviour, or you would have a better Gospel to preach than the Gospel of sanitation. Is it possible that I, the poor Moslem, have entered into the Kingdom of Heaven before you the learned citizen of a Christian nation? even as He said of old to the Pharisees, 'the publicans and harlots shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven before you.'—Yours sincerely,

"SALEM EL KHEMRY."

SUEZ: February 9.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

Dear Sir,—We owe a debt of gratitude to the Rev. R. Eubank for following up his former interesting article on Russo-Greek Missions with the one on Roman Missions in your last number. We much need information regarding them, that we may appreciate the zeal and devotion of the missionaries. But I think Mr. Eubank's article is in some respects inaccurate and misleading, and I ask leave to call attention to a few points. I take them nearly in his own order.

1. *Spanish and Portuguese America*.—The prevalence of Roman Catholicism in Central and South America, with its "Catholic population of seventy millions," is cited as an illustration of the success of Roman Missions. As well might one cite the Protestant population of the United States and Canada as an illustration of the success of Protestant Missions. That there was more intermingling of race between the white immigrants from Spain and Portugal than was the case in North America is true, and a reasonable calculation might properly be based upon the fact; but that the seventy millions are a result of Missions is obviously an incorrect statement. The question may be asked, What came eventually of the temporarily successful work of the Jesuits in Paraguay? And another question, What missionary work is now carried on among the Pagan Indians of the interior? Certainly *L'Année de l'Église*, summarising Roman Missions two or three years ago, mentioned none. What it did mention was a pastoral from the Pope, severely rebuking the South American clergy for the inconsistency of their lives; thus confirming what the least prejudiced observer notices and what the Missionary Bishop in Brazil of the American Protestant Episcopal Church has repeatedly spoken of with pain and sorrow.

2. *The Philippines*.—I am afraid the Islands are not unlike South America, if we may accept what the American Bishop Brent—a specially broad-minded man and peculiarly free from prejudices—says on the subject?

3. *India*.—Mr. Eubank begins by citing the Portuguese influence centred at Goa, and the 300,000 Christians of 1565, as an illustration of Roman missionary success. In the next paragraph we read of St. Francis Xavier arriving in the very midst of this successful work, finding "vice rampant in the colony and many of the clergy lukewarm," and of him as promoting the "revival" needed. On another page we are told of the "corrupt Goanese clergy," through whose "greed and worldliness" Christianity was "allowed to die out" in whole districts. Then Xavier's South Indian work as a whole is described in unmeasured terms as a complete

triumph. All Christendom honours the zeal and devotion of that fervent missionary ; but it is quite another thing to write of his success without qualification. Does Mr. Eubank forget that a large part of Xavier's operations consisted, according to his own account, in baptizing the children of heathen parents ; that doing this was a comfort to him in view of his not having acquired the language, because in his own language it " needed no interpreter " ; that so hopeless did he regard the conversion of adults by preaching that he called on King John of Portugal to lay upon the civil governors the duty of forcing them into the Church, and to punish severely any governor whose converts were few ; that the Abbé Dubois, also a Jesuit, describes him as utterly disheartened by non-success and as leaving India in disgust ; and that Bishop Cotton, most tolerant of Anglicans, considered his methods " utterly wrong, and the results in India and Ceylon most deplorable " ?

Mr. Eubank mentions Robert de Nobili as having adopted the dress and mode of life of the Brahmans, and thus winning " a host of converts." Does he forget that, in order to win them, Nobili swore upon a forged Veda that he had sprung from the God Brahma ?—which forged Veda was so skilfully done that it deceived Voltaire, and was cited by him as a proof of the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity.

Mr. Eubank refers to the aggression of Roman missionaries on the Ancient Syrian Church of Travancore with approval, but he omits to describe its methods : for example, that the Inquisition was introduced, and that by its order the Syrian Metropolitan was burnt alive at Goa in 1654.

Regarding modern Roman Missions in India, the paper read by Bishop Matthew of Lahore at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894 should be consulted. Let me quote one sentence. " Although I have been in India," he said, " for more than a quarter of a century, and have by turns observed missionary work in Bengal, in Burma, in the North-West Provinces, and in the Punjab and Sindh, I have never yet met with an organised Mission of the Church of Rome to heathen or Mohammedans, except in places where God has previously and conspicuously blessed the labours of some other Christian body."

Once more : What is the character of Roman Christians in South India, where they are most numerous ? Bishop Caldwell, the greatest Indian missionary of the S.P.G., said, " The Roman Catholic Hindus, in intellect, habits, and morals, do not differ from the heathen in the smallest degree." Mr. Eubank only refers to Ceylon to say that Xavier " revived Christianity " there ; but the Tamil people in the island are the same race as those in South India of whom Caldwell speaks. So Miss Gordon-Cumming's testimony may be referred to as supplying singular confirmation of his statement. She saw the identical devil-dancers from the

temple of Siva, engaged for processions in honour of Siva and of Christ and the Virgin Mother ; she saw the image of Buddha and the image of the Virgin in the same chapel, opposite each other ; she saw Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians paying their vows together at the shrine of St. Anna.

China.—Mr. Eubank says, "the Jesuits were the first to arrive in China." He adds that the old Nestorian Christianity "had long ceased to be," and that "the mediæval Missions from Rome had left little if any mark on Chinese life." This is true ; but at least it is not the case that the Jesuits were "first"—unless the Franciscans are not to be counted as Christian missionaries. Bishop Collins of Gibraltar, whose interesting article on their work, and particularly on John de Monte Corvino, appeared in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* only in April last year, will have read this with surprise.

Mr. Eubank says that the Jesuits "yielded in all things indifferent to the Chinese customs, and in 1619 this line of conduct was approved of by the Pope." But he does not add that they presently yielded in other things that were not "indifferent" ; that other Popes were shocked at the Jesuit proceedings, and again and again launched censures against them ; that Pope Clement XI. sent a legate, Cardinal Tournon, to inquire, and that he was thrown into prison by the Portuguese Bishop at Macao, and died there of his sufferings.

Japan.—Mr. Eubank notices with sympathy the terrible persecutions of the Japanese Roman Christians by the Buddhist Shoguns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is right : sympathy and admiration are due to the sufferers. But he entirely omits all reference to the *preceding* persecution of the Buddhists by the Shoguns who were under Jesuit influence ; and this persecution was as bitter as the later and counter one.

It is stated that in 1869 4,500 Christians, belonging to the long-hidden remnant of descendants from the numerous body of the seventeenth century, "were deported from Urakami and the Goto Islands, chief centres of Catholicism." This is a mistake. They were deported from Urakami *to* the Goto Islands. The numbers are usually given as 3,000, or even 2,000. I never saw the figure 4,500 before. Mr. Eubank does not mention that a year or two later, when religious liberty came in, these poor exiles were restored to their homes.

Africa.—Mr. Eubank's figures for Uganda are perplexing, but the total is not far out, so I will not discuss them. He gives no account of the great Roman Missions on the Congo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or of the shocking story of "the Christian kingdom of Congo," as told by a sympathiser, Pigafetta, Chamberlain to Pope Innocent IX. He does, however, say frankly that, "if any Church in Christendom needs reformation, it is that of Portuguese Africa." He attributes this, however, to

"the pernicious interference of the Portuguese Crown." Is that the opinion of the Universities Mission there? Has Mr. Eubank read the opinion of the late Rev. Henry Rowley, formerly of that Mission, and afterwards Organising Secretary of the S.P.G., in his *Africa Unveiled*?

Mr. Eubank justly calls attention to the remarkable growth of Roman Missions in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century they were at their lowest ebb, and the revival is astonishing. But the total numbers of missionaries given cannot be relied upon. This is not Mr. Eubank's fault, for the official statistics given in the Roman Catholic magazines are very perplexing. He gives, as others have given, the total as "at least 15,000 priests and monks, 5,000 teaching brothers, and 45,000 sisters in the mission field." But it is clear, when the details are examined, that these figures include "missionaries" among white Christian populations. We cannot complain of this, because we Anglicans—to say nothing of non-episcopal Protestants—need Missions, in the estimation of the Roman Church, as much as Mohammedans or Heathen; so it is quite reasonable that in Roman statistics such "missionaries" should be counted. But it is quite another thing for an Anglican writer to include them, in obvious contrast with our missionaries in the non-Christian world.

Let me illustrate this statement. The Roman statistics in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* give in North-West Canada 237 missionaries and 168,300 adherents. This latter figure far exceeds the total of Red Indians in the whole Dominion. So again in Australasia, the statistics show 163 missionaries and 103,660 adherents, which latter figure is also larger than the whole aboriginal population. Yet in both cases room must be found for many thousands of Anglican and other non-Roman converts. Plainly in both cases work among white settlers is included. There are also curious entries of missionaries, "native priests," and native converts, in the British Isles. Is "native priests" a phrase to express Englishmen? The point, however, is that we are still without trustworthy statistics of Roman Missions in non-Christian lands.

It is no pleasure to find fault with Mr. Eubank's article, or to dwell upon the less favourable side of Roman Missions, and in doing so I have—as the candid reader will observe—entirely refrained from citing as witnesses any authorities who might be supposed to be unduly prejudiced against them. It would be easy to quote from C.M.S. authorities, but I have not done so in a single case. Most of the facts adduced are really the familiar facts of ordinary and accepted history.

I am, yours faithfully,

EUGENE STOCK.

REVIEWS.

Intoxicants and Opium in all Lands and Times. Published by the International Reform Bureau, U.S.A. 288 pp. 75 cents.
China's Past and Future, and Britain's Sin and Folly. By the Hon. C. Holcombe and B. Broomhall. Published by Morgan & Scott. 298 pp. Price 1s.

THE first of these books professes to be a survey of intemperance based on a symposium of testimony from a hundred missionaries and travellers. It consists in part of a plea for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to native races. With this plea everyone who cares at all for the well-being of the native races cannot fail to agree. The rest of the book consists of a denunciation of the opium traffic with China and of the selling of opium in India. It is a great pity that those who desire to bring about the stoppage of the importation of opium into China do not more carefully distinguish between the effects of eating opium in India and the effects produced by smoking opium in China. There can be no doubt that the opponents of the opium trade have greatly injured their cause by the indiscriminate condemnation of the use of this drug. The evidence collected and published by the Government Opium Commission to India in 1893 made it clear that in the opinion of nearly all doctors and other civilians, and of a certain number of missionaries, the harm done by opium in India was far less than had been popularly supposed. It was proved that in the Indian army, and in many districts where it was regularly used, the effect produced was very much the same as that which is produced by the drinking of coffee in England. We confess that we were entirely prejudiced against the use of opium in India at the time when the Government report was published, and that nothing short of the demonstrative evidence produced by this Commission would have led to a change of opinion. Most unfortunately, no Government enquiry of any similar kind has ever been held in regard to the effects produced by opium in China. The Commission, however, endeavoured to obtain written evidence from China, and state in their report that in the British Consular service in China the prevailing opinion is that "opium smoking in moderation is not harmful, and that moderation is the rule." In view of the very large amount of evidence which appears to be available to prove that the reports from China on which the Commission relied were not sufficiently representative, it may fairly be

urged that the time has come to send to China a second Commission which should collect on the spot such evidence as would carry conviction to the man in the street, and, in the event of its supporting the contentions of the Anti-Opium Society, should create an irresistible demand for the abolition of the opium traffic between India and China.

It is greatly to be wished that the Anti-Opium Societies would press upon their respective Governments the desirability of creating such a Commission. Our own belief is that, if such an enquiry were held, it would show that the harm wrought by the smoking of opium in China was of an altogether different character to, and on an immeasurably greater scale than, the harm wrought by the eating of opium in India. The volume before us contains a large selection of portraits, including those of young ladies who have expressed decided opinions on the opium question. In view of the singular lack of intelligence displayed in many of the faces, it is a little unfortunate that the book should give prominence to the statement that "in the giving of testimony the face is a part of the evidence, and so we have inserted the portraits of many of our witnesses, that they may seem to speak from the very lips."

In the second of the two books above referred to the statements made concerning the personal characters of the men who were chosen by the English Government to represent this country on the Indian Opium Commission are such as to dishearten any honest seeker after truth. We read, printed in extra dark type: "When the report of the Commission has had its day and been found out, it will be consigned to neglect, a dishonoured and despised document. No man whose name is appended to it will ultimately receive anything but shame as his reward." It is the use of such language as this which makes the ordinary man, who has no means of obtaining first hand information on the subject, turn away with incredulity when he is asked to believe the statements made by the opponents of the use of opium, or to take part in an agitation for the extinction of the opium trade. We believe that the smoking of opium does immense harm in China, and that its importation into that country from India ought to be stopped, but we cannot think that those who indulge in indiscriminate abuse of our best and most honoured Government officials will do anything but delay the putting a stop to this trade.

Handbooks for Workers, Outline Histories of C.M.S. Missions.
Vol. I. Missions in Africa, Palestine and Persia. 143 pp.
Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

THIS will be very useful to teachers and those who are preparing to give addresses on the C.M.S. Missions of which they treat.

Teaching of the Church of England on some Points of Religion, set forth for the Information of Orthodox Christians of the East, in the form of an answer to questions by John Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Printed in Arabic and in English. Published by the S.P.C.K. Price 2s.

THIS should be of great value to those who are endeavouring to promote a better understanding between the Anglican Church and the various Christian Churches of the East.

Roman Catholic Claims. By Charles Gore, D.D., Bishop of Birmingham. 215 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 6d.

WE welcome a cheap edition of this most valuable book.

Reminiscences of Robert Gray, first Bishop of Capetown. By A. Anderson Morshead. With a preface by the Dean of Salisbury. 268 pp. Published by Skeffington. Price 5s. net.

THIS book contains, as its title states, reminiscences rather than a formal life of Bishop Gray. It contains a great deal of interesting matter, and should prove a valuable supplement to the two existing memoirs.

Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society. Published by the C.M.S. Fourth edition. 182 pp. Price 2s. net.

THE first half of the book gives a sketch of the country, people, and religions of Japan; the second half deals with the special work of the C.M.S., which has been carried on since 1868. It was first published in 1879, and this is the fourth time that it has been brought up to date. The book contains a map and several illustrations which add to its attractiveness.

The Great Religions of India. By the late Rev. J. M. Mitchell, LL.D. Published by Oliphant. 286 pp. Price 5s. net.

SIX missionary lectures delivered in Scotland in connection with the Duff Missionary Lectureship. The subjects of the lectures are Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and the religions of the Wild Races.

Central Africa: a Monthly Record of the Work of the Universities Mission. Price 1d.

WE congratulate the U.M.C.A. heartily on the greatly improved appearance and general get-up of their monthly magazine. We trust that its circulation may now steadily increase.

The East and The West

JULY 1905

BAPTISM WITHIN THE PURDAH.

A SUGGESTION.

No friend of Missions will object to missionary methods coming under the closest scrutiny and investigation. The real difficulties of the work are so great, that we must always wish to avoid creating any that are merely imaginary. The greatest success as well as the highest efficiency is to be secured by working along the lines of least resistance, and from time to time matters of doctrine, and order, and discipline which may seem to us in the highest degree essential for the Church at home, can nevertheless form a lawful subject for discussion and inquiry in the Church abroad. The question whether episcopacy must be regarded as an integral part of Native Church development has more than once been under discussion in India, whilst the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England in its present form is still more a "burning question." The subject of this paper naturally falls into this category. Stated concisely, it may be summed up as follows :—How far is the existence of the purdah system in Eastern lands, which is strictly a social, not a religious custom, itself an obstacle to the making of female converts? Would it be possible to remove this obstacle by having a special order of deaconesses who would be empowered by the Bishops

NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

Arabs, and recognising it as the one safeguard against unbridled license, determined to perpetuate it by a special injunction in the Quran (Surah, xxxiii. 55).¹ Stanley Lane-Poole says :

"It is not Mohammed whom we must blame for these great evils, polygamy and divorce ; it is the state of society which demanded the separation of the sexes and in which it was not safe to allow men and women freely to associate ; in other words, it was the sensual constitution of the Arab that lay at the root of the matter. Mohammed might have done better. He might boldly have swept away the traditions of Arab society, unveiled the women, intermingled the sexes, and punished by the most severe measures any license which such association might at first encourage. But such an idea could never have occurred to him."²

One might add that his own example in his dealings with women was not such as to encourage a high standard of self-restraint. But it is admitted that the abolition of the zenana and the purdah system could not take place in the East to-day without very grave evil resulting from it, until both the men and women have acquired far higher and purer ideas as to the relation of the sexes. A missionary lady who has lived many years in the East says : "It is of no use to give Indian women liberty unless we give them the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free."³

The fact is the seclusion "behind the purdah," in spite of all its manifest abuses and drawbacks, still stands for something amongst the multitudes of high-class women of the East which we cannot afford to do without, and that is modesty. It is well known that the average native of India refuses to believe in the modesty of English ladies, because they go about in public ; and it is only those who have been to England and have thoroughly assimilated our

¹ The quotation referred to by Hughes is as follows : "O prophet, speak unto thy wives, and thy daughters, and the wives of the true believers, that they cast their outer garments over them when they walk abroad ; this will be more proper, that they may be known to be matrons of reputation, and may not be affronted by unseemly words or actions" (Sale).

There is no mention of the Zenana or harem here, only to the wearing of the "burga" or veil, which entirely shrouds the whole body except for the eyelet holes ; but the privilege of going out in such a dress is a doubtful one, and not made use of except amongst the poorer classes of respectable Mohammedan women, who have no servant to send to the bazaar to obtain the daily supplies for the household.

² Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 679.

³ *Behind the Purdah*, p. 223.

Western ideas who can understand that purity and modesty can exist without perpetual seclusion. Indian Christian ladies are often reluctantly compelled to discard their own picturesque head-dress of the "chadar," and adopt the European hat in travelling about, in order to protect themselves from insult—the insult that attaches to a woman who has lost her modesty.

It is impossible for a European to realise the extent of the sacrifice that is demanded from a purdah lady when she is told that in order to be a Christian she must emerge from her seclusion and face the publicity of a church to be baptized by a man, perhaps in the presence of men, and it should be remembered that such a sacrifice is in no sense demanded for a true confession of the Christian faith. A purdah woman is very seldom alone in the zenana, there are other female relatives living there with her, and she has intercourse with the purdah women of the neighbouring houses ; an effective witness could well be given before these.

The question may be raised, however, Would the fact of not having to break purdah really make much difference to a woman who was genuinely anxious to become a Christian ? The answer seems to be that it is impossible to tell what difference it would make until it was tried. At present it is a *sine qua non* to a profession of the Christian faith, and this is known not only to the women but also to the men. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there are some liberal-minded natives of India who if they saw that their wives or daughters or sisters were really desirous to become Christians, and realised that this would not necessarily entail the social disgrace and scandal caused by public baptism, would not oppose such a step as vehemently as they do now, nor would such keen opposition be met with from the other women. It is certain that a great part of the opposition to baptism amongst the higher classes of natives in India is due to the social disgrace involved, and that this weighs with them even more than the change of faith. This disgrace is more felt in connection with the women than with the men, because the social change is greater ; and though baptism within the purdah would not entirely remove it, nor

would it be desirable that it should do so, yet it would modify it to a great extent. Another difficulty may be raised by the question, What probability would there be of the deaconess having free access to her new convert in the zenana, supposing that after baptism the husband or father refused to admit her? One can only reply that the risk would not be greater than it is at present, when a new convert can nearly always be cajoled back to her former home and the door shut upon all intruders.

And now to discuss briefly the other side of the question, though it is one I should prefer to leave to the experts. What authority can be gained from a study of the practice of the Early Church on this matter; is there any precedent for such a departure from the usual custom?

There seems to be no doubt that baptism by women was recognised as early as the sixth century, and probably earlier. In the Syriac "Didascalia," Chap. XVII., we find the following :—

"There are houses where thou canst not send the deacon unto women, because of the heathen; but thou shalt send the deaconess. For also in many other things the office of a woman deaconess is required. First, when women go down into the water it is required that by a deaconess those who go down into the water should be anointed with the oil of anointing. . . . Where there is a woman, and yet more a deaconess, *it is not necessary for women that they should be seen by men.*"¹

On the other hand, except in cases of dangerous sickness, the actual baptism was performed by a man, the duties of the deaconess being limited to the anointing and the instruction before and after baptism.

In the "Testament of the Lord" reference is made to the deaconess being allowed to administer the Holy Communion in cases of sickness, which is another important precedent.

A very interesting passage from the book from which I have already quoted refers so directly to the subject of this paper, that it is worth quoting in full :—

"In the mission field there is a splendid opening for this form of woman's work. In India especially, the conditions of social

¹ *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 178, Cecilia Robinson. Methuen & Co. (The italics are mine.)

life are not unlike those which existed in the East fifteen hundred years ago, when the work of deaconesses was felt to be of such great value in the Church. Now, as then, the work among the women must be done by women. The evangelisation of India depends upon the Christianising of its wives and mothers, and this cannot be effected by men. The women may not come to Church, nor may they be visited by the clergy. *If they become converts it is practically impossible for them to receive baptism. Under these circumstances it is interesting to find the Bishop of Lucknow asking whether the difficulty might not be overcome by the employment of duly ordained deaconesses, who could administer baptism to the female converts.*"¹

If the question of baptism of female converts by deaconesses has already suggested itself to one of the Bishops of the Church in India who has had a long and varied experience of the difficulties of mission work in that land, then it is surely one within the limits of careful and temperate discussion. If this article shall have helped in the smallest degree to further that discussion, then it will have fulfilled the object for which it was written.

¹ *Ministry of Deaconesses*, pp. 132, 133.

UGANDA: A RETROSPECT AND AN INQUIRY

ON November 15, 1875, there appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* a long letter from the great traveller Stanley, which had been despatched from the heart of Africa and, after narrowly escaping destruction on the Upper Nile, passed through Gordon's hands at Khartoum and found its way to this country. The public were thrilled by the description given of King Mtesa and his court and country, of which nothing had been heard since the visit of Speke and Grant thirteen years before; and the Christian Church was stirred by his challenge, expressed in such words as these:—"Where is there in all the pagan world a more promising field for a mission than Uganda? . . . Here, gentlemen, is your opportunity: embrace it! The people on the shores of the Nyanza call upon you." Thirty years will soon have elapsed since that challenge was made, and we may well inquire whether Stanley's forecast was correct, whether Uganda has really proved a promising mission field, and what is the quality of the Christianity which has been introduced into Mtesa's kingdom.

Last summer, within a few months of Stanley's death, I was privileged to spend a short time in Uganda, and this must be my excuse for attempting a brief study of the question. It will be admitted by all who know anything of the country that the Uganda of to-day is vastly different from the Uganda over which Mtesa's powerful but cruel sway extended, and that its people have made extraordinary progress in all that we understand by civilisation. Sir Harry Johnston has pictured in lurid colours the bloodshed, the slave-raiding, and the vice which formerly prevailed; and the horrible scenes of those days colour all the early narratives of both missionaries and explorers. Wanton murders by the king's command were constantly occurring,

and from time to time he would order that the roadways should be watched and all passers-by be seized and put to death. Mutilation was a common punishment; and the slave trade was so rampant that in a letter to the *Times* in 1889 Mackay stated that 2,000 slaves were annually sold out of Uganda for use by Arab traders, but that there was "tenfold greater loss of life and liberty in the countries raided on by the Baganda."

To-day, not only has all this slave-raiding come to an end, but even the institution of domestic slavery no longer exists: peace prevails, and life and property in Uganda are almost as secure as here at home. Justice is still administered by the chiefs or by native courts, but now it is justice worthy of the name. Improvements are noticeable in agriculture and industry and trade; while the big chiefs are building houses in which Europeans might be happy to live. Just a year ago, my wife and I were guests in one of the finest of these, when the Katikiro gave a house-warming dinner-party, and some fifty guests, mostly European, but including also a few leading men in native church and state, sat down together. The degraded Lubare worship of the old pagan Uganda, though not by any means extinct, now hides its head; and nearly all the chiefs and prominent men profess themselves Christians. The number of those connected with the Church of England, including baptized and "adherents," is given in the Commissioner's latest Report as 300,000; while those attached to the two Roman Catholic Missions amount, according to the same statistics, to 275,000. These figures are necessarily very uncertain, but they give some indication of the extent to which Christianity has spread. In connection with the Church of England alone there are about 2,000 native teachers; while throughout the Kingdom of Uganda there are scattered over 1,000 buildings, made for the most part of reed on a framework of wood and thatched with grass, which are used as schools and places of worship. All have been put up by the Baganda themselves without financial help from England, and the teachers who work in them are also supported by the Uganda Church. More than thirty of these have now been ordained, and are stationed at the more important centres, at some of which church buildings of a more

substantial kind have been erected with sun-dried bricks. And not only does the church support her ministers, but many evangelists have been sent out to do missionary work beyond the borders of their own land.

The history of these past thirty years, which have brought about so remarkable a transformation, is full of stirring incidents, and reads like a romance. We can here only recall, without any attempt at description, a few of its leading events. The Church Missionary Society responded promptly to Stanley's challenge, and in March 1876 the first party of missionaries started for Uganda; but deaths and disaster occurred, and it was not until June, 1877, that two of these arrived at Mtesa's capital. Nearly five years elapsed before, in 1882, the first converts were baptized. Two years later, when the number of baptized Christians had risen to eighty-eight, Mtesa died, and was succeeded by his weaker but more cruel son, Mwanga. The beginning of Mwanga's reign was signalled by strenuous persecution of the Christians, and by the murder of Bishop Hannington, as he was about to enter Uganda by a new route along the northern shore of the lake. Mwanga's cruelties were unendurable, and in August 1888 he was driven from the country. The Mohammedan party then gained the upper hand, and in October those who had avowed themselves Christians, with the missionaries, both English and Roman Catholic, were obliged to flee. It was during this period of exile that Stanley, on his last great journey, met the Christians in Nkole and was impressed by their devotion and good qualities. By a perplexing turn in the wheel of fortune, Mwanga was restored by their help in October 1889, but not to wield again unchecked his former power for mischief. The following year there appeared in Uganda the first representatives of the Imperial British East Africa Company, who entered into a treaty with the king. For some time, however, the Company's hold upon the country was very precarious, and in 1891 they sent instructions to their representatives to retire. Had this decision been carried out, it would have been regarded in Uganda as a serious breach of faith, and would not only have proved a great blow to British prestige, but might have led not improbably to a general massacre of

missionaries and Christians. So strongly was this felt by friends of the Mission in England, that to avert the catastrophe £16,000 was subscribed among them; and this, added to a munificent gift from the chairman, Sir William Mackinnon, enabled the Company to countermand their instructions and to keep their footing in Uganda for another year. At the end of that period the keenest anxiety was again felt as to the fate of Uganda; but in November 1892 the British Government announced that a Commissioner was to be sent to investigate and report; and on April 1, 1893, the Union Jack was hoisted at the capital in place of the Company's flag. Another year passed before the assumption of a Protectorate was definitely announced, and yet another before it was decided to construct a railway up country from Mombasa. Till this was carried through to the lake, at the end of 1901, it can hardly be said that British occupation had become thoroughly effective in this distant Protectorate.

Space forbids a more detailed account of the history of these thirty years; but this much is necessary if we are to estimate aright the change that has taken place. Of its magnitude there can be no question; and few, if any, will deny that from almost every point of view it is a change for the better. But the question remains, to what is this change due, and may it in any large measure be attributed to the effects of missionary work?

As an Englishman, deeply sensible of our Imperial responsibilities, I have no wish to belittle the splendid work done by British administration in Uganda. No one could have listened to the paper read last December by the present Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel James Hayes Sadler, C.B., before the Colonial Institute without a sense of thankfulness for the good work already done and for the prospects of further development. Still less can one visit the country without realising how much is due to the strong arm of British power and the strict justice shown. I am specially thankful for the fact that under Colonel Sadler's *régime* every effort is made to develop the powers of the Baganda by a wise and sympathetic use of native institutions, and by supporting the chiefs in the exercise of a large measure of authority, both individually as over-lords of the

twenty Sazas into which the Kingdom of Uganda is divided, and collectively as members of the Lukiko or native parliament.

One of the most interesting experiences of our stay in Mengo was a visit to this Lukiko. It is held in a reed-thatched hall supported on palm poles, open at one end, and having a broad passage left down the middle to the chair of state, where on this occasion the little king was seated with the royal leopard-skin at his feet. On his right sat the Katikiro, who actually presided over the proceedings, and before him on either side the members of the Court, not distinguishable to a stranger from the spectators or litigants who crowded beyond them. The business that day was entirely of a judicial character, but the Lukiko has legislative and administrative powers as well.

But, while much has been done and may be done by those who wield the material forces of the Empire, there are other forces which have at least as great effect in the progress of civilisation. It must not be forgotten that in the case of Uganda these moral and spiritual forces had a long start, and produced great effects before any material forces came into play. The first missionary set foot in Uganda in 1877, the first administrator not till 1890. And since the latter date it may be shown that to missionary work is due a very large share of the progress effected. Let me mention one instance which occurred shortly after the arrival of Sir Gerald Portal, the first British Commissioner, in 1893. Some native chiefs came to Bishop Tucker, who had just returned from a visit to England, and asked his advice as to what they should do with certain runaway slaves. He told them slavery was the law of the country, and therefore it was their duty to return them; but he took the opportunity of laying before them the principles of Christianity with regard to this question, and suggested that they might, if they wished, take steps to get the law altered. Within a few days he received a statement signed by forty chiefs, saying "All we Protestant chiefs wish to adopt these good customs of freedom. We agree to untie and free completely all our slaves. Here are our names as chiefs." Thus slavery was abolished, not

through the direct action of the administration, but through the influence of Christianity.

In comparing the work of Government and missions, it is not without interest to recall that at one critical period the former owed a great deal—perhaps its very existence—to the loyalty and bravery of the native Christians. In 1897 Mwanga stole away from the capital and raised the standard of revolt against the British authority which he had agreed to accept; and while he and his followers were still threatening Uganda from the south-west, an event of still more terrible importance occurred in the opposite direction. Some Soudanese troops, who had originally formed part of Emin Pasha's forces and had been brought into the country by Captain, now General Sir Frederick, Lugard, to form the nucleus of his garrison, were ordered to proceed under Major Macdonald on an exploring expedition to Lake Rudolph. They had but lately returned from fighting against Mwanga, and objected to being called upon to undertake a yet more distant expedition. As a result, part of the column mutinied, seized the fort at Luba's, in Busoga, and captured and afterwards murdered Major Thruston and two other English officers. The position of the British residents in Mengo was now most critical. Only the Baganda levies and some Swahili porters stood between them and massacre. Many weeks must elapse before reinforcements could arrive from the coast, and meanwhile it was these Protestant Baganda, ably led by European officers, and encouraged by the presence of two missionaries whom they loved and trusted, who held the mutineers in check and saved the situation. The missionaries were Mr. George Pilkington, who laid down his life on this expedition, and Dr. A. R. Cook, whose surgical skill, both then and since, has been turned to such good account.

The mention of Dr. Cook recalls inevitably the great work effected by the Medical Mission, over which he and his brother preside at the capital, and which has branches in different parts of the country. Government doctors are now doing a great work also; but their work lies mainly in the direction of research, while the Medical Mission aims more directly at the alleviation of suffering and at

influencing from a spiritual point of view all who are brought by sickness or accident to seek its aid.

Education has made remarkable progress, and here the missionaries hold the field. The Baganda have proved intelligent pupils, and thousands have learnt to read and write. In the C.M.S. Mission it has all along been the rule that, unless exception be made on account of age or infirmity, no one may be admitted to baptism until he has learnt to read the Bible for himself; and when I mention that over 50,000 have now been baptized, the number of adult baptisms last year amounting to 6,135, some idea may be gained as to the extent to which primary education has advanced. We shall not soon forget our visit to the day-school in Mengo. The large grass-thatched building was well filled, and all the children seemed to be working keenly at their lessons, while the native teachers were throwing themselves heartily into the work of imparting knowledge. The demand has now arisen for something more than the three R's and simple Bible teaching, and the whole system of education is being revised and extended. A boarding-school for the sons of chiefs has been established at the capital, and another for girls at one of the nearer out-stations; while a few miles from Mengo a building is now being erected to serve as a secondary school for boys.

It is pleasant to notice how all the teaching in Mengo clusters round the great cathedral. This cathedral stands on one of the twin tops of Namirembe, the highest among a group of hills over which the capital is scattered. The three tall peaks by which its roof is surmounted form a striking feature in the view from any of the surrounding hills, and the cathedral itself is set off by the lower buildings which lie about it, though separated by an ample space of level ground. The boys' and girls' schools lie beyond the east end; while on one side is the building filled daily with candidates preparing for baptism or confirmation, and on the other side are carried on the classes for training teachers, male and female. The missionary in charge has of course many anxieties regarding the spiritual tone of those who offer themselves as Christian workers, but some test of their sincerity and zeal is provided by the fact that the majority come from a distance

and find considerable difficulty in providing for themselves during their stay in the capital. Many have, in fact, to endure real hardships, and often go short of food in their anxiety to learn and to qualify themselves for pastoral and missionary labour.

The cathedral itself is a witness to the fact that missionary education has not been confined to intellectual teaching. This splendid building, capable of holding 3,500 people, reflects the greatest credit upon the work of the Industrial Mission and upon the skill and energy of its architect, Mr. Borup. It witnesses also to the zeal of chiefs and people, and is a monument of their extraordinary readiness to imbibe and work out new ideas; and provides, moreover, a striking contradiction to those who speak of the Baganda as indolent and unwilling to work. Mr. Borup has taught them the arts of brick-making, brick-laying, timber-work, and all the various branches of building necessary for the erection of this imposing church. When he last came home to England he gave so encouraging an account of their capabilities, and impressed so forcibly upon his friends at home the need of developing industrial work, that it was felt that capital must be found to provide for the development needed. But the funds of the C.M.S. could not be devoted to the purchase of machinery or employed in any kind of commercial enterprise. A company, therefore, was floated among friends of the mission, which is now giving employment to a large number of native Christians, affording them training in work of different kinds and developing their characters by promoting habits of industry and self-reliance. Besides undertaking most of the work hitherto carried on by the Industrial Mission, the company has distributed considerable quantities of cotton seed among native cultivators, and the experiment in cultivation has already been attended with remarkable success. This will undoubtedly lead to an increase in the revenue of the country; but it must be remembered that the development is directly due to missionary enterprise.

What has been said with regard to medical educational and industrial work may serve to justify the assertion that to such enterprise is very largely due the transformation

which has taken place in Uganda ; but the great criterion of its success must be sought in the character of those who have come under Christian influence, and on this all-important subject I am anxious not to give a one-sided account. It was said a year ago in the Society's Annual Report that, "Two very different pictures could be drawn of the religious life of the Baganda Christians. Both pictures would be equally true, neither should be concealed, and together they should call forth fervent intercession mingled with heartfelt praise." Among missionaries in the field it is felt that friends in England do not sufficiently realise the darker picture. Some of them notice with regret an altered disposition now manifested towards themselves, a self-asserting spirit, very different from the loving confidence which characterised the earlier days ; while among catechists, teachers, and pastors, the standard of diligence and faithfulness is often far from satisfactory. At a missionary conference which I attended in Mengo no subject discussed was of greater importance than the means to be used for promoting holiness of life among the Christians ; but this session was marked by a tone of sadness and anxiety. The opening speaker pointed out that before we could profitably consider the deepening of spiritual life, we must realise the urgent need for conviction of sin ; and he drew attention to the distressing state of morals prevailing in the country, and painfully affecting the professing Christian Church. Speaker after speaker dwelt upon the same subject, deploring the low tone of public opinion, among the leading men of the country no less than among the common people.

The influence of Indians and Swahilis, whom the railway has brought already in considerable numbers to Uganda, is mentioned as one of the main causes of the evil ; but another, far more potent, may probably be found in the rapidly-altered conditions of social life. In old days every woman was regarded as the property of some chief, to be disposed of as he thought fit, and the penalty for misconduct was exceedingly severe. Now the former restraints have been almost entirely removed ; and to my mind the marvel is, not that numbers fall into sin, but that in so many lives, unused to self-restraint and with all the

disadvantages of a heathen ancestry and heathen up-bringing, the keeping power of God is manifested—sometimes under fierce temptation. As regards the Church in general, it need not greatly surprise us if the standard has declined of late. The growth in numbers and outward prosperity has been very rapid; and, whereas nineteen or twenty years ago the convert had to face the risk of persecution and death, those now coming forward for baptism generally gain in social standing and in the good opinion of their neighbours by becoming Christians. So there is no longer the same effective test of sincerity, and we cannot wonder that many of the professing Christians do not prove to be really converted, and that a lower moral tone prevails as the Church grows in numbers and outward prosperity.

On the other hand a bright picture may well be drawn when we look to individual instances of high character and true spirituality. Unfortunately a traveller from home can only give second-hand testimony, for there are hardly any of the Baganda with whom he can converse without a knowledge of their language. It was delightful, however, to hear of such characters from those who knew them intimately, and often to see and shake hands with the men themselves, and to mark on their frank, intelligent faces the outward signs of divine grace in the heart and life. Probably the best and most deeply taught Christians are those whose conversion dates from the early and darker days, and whose lives have witnessed through these years of change to the Saviour's keeping power; but the earnestness of many younger men is hardly less remarkable. Real self-denial is often required on the part of those coming up from country districts to go through a course of training at the capital and qualify themselves as teachers. Not only have they to face the difficulty of providing for themselves during this time of preparation; but their calling afterwards offers very small material advantages, for the stipends even of pastors are extremely low, and compare unfavourably with the wages already being paid in secular employments. Nevertheless it is cheering to find that there is no lack of men to take up the work.

The lives of the teachers scattered over Uganda are on the whole a splendid witness to the power of the Gospel.

Of course there are failures ; but, when we think of the circumstances in which they live, the temptations that surround them, and the fact that many of them have to go months together without even seeing a European missionary, we may indeed thank God for the triumph of His grace in their lives, and for the fact that they are able to commend the Gospel by their conduct as well as by their teaching.

The missionary spirit, of which there are so many tokens among the Baganda Christians, is another mark of real vitality and a feature full of hope for the time to come. Without the aid of a map it is difficult to give an adequate impression of the extent to which the light of the Gospel has radiated from Uganda in different directions. Across the great lake to the south work is being carried on in Usukuma. To the south-west, in the direction of Lake Albert Edward, there are flourishing mission stations in Nkolie ; while further north, under the snowy peaks of Mount Ruwenzori, the church of Toro, now more than ten years of age, has grown to considerable proportions and has extended its outposts beyond the Semliki river to the borders of the great Pigmy Forest. To the north-west of Uganda, towards the shore of Lake Albert, Christianity has made rapid progress in the country of Unyoro, whose former king, Kabarega, was famed as one of the most dreaded slave-raiders of Central Africa. Beyond the Victoria Nile, in Busoga and Bukedi, mission outposts are multiplying, and the work has extended to the slopes of Mt. Elgon. The latest advance has been eastward into Kavirondo ; but perhaps the most important step taken last year was the opening of a new mission station away to the north in the Acholi country, past which the White Nile flows on its long course to the Mediterranean. Nearly all this extension has taken place within the last twelve years ; and in each successive step Baganda evangelists, sent out and supported by their countrymen, have played an important part. Sometimes they have themselves been the pioneers : sometimes a European missionary has led the way, and, after establishing friendly relations with the chiefs, has left Baganda teachers to carry on the work. These teachers or their successors are still working in practically all the

districts I have enumerated ; and a monthly missionary meeting is held at Mengo, when those returning from outlying parts of the Protectorate describe the work in which they have borne a part.

There are grave problems to be faced in the near future, such for instance as the continuance of the self-support which has hitherto been a distinguishing mark of Uganda Christianity. It has proved a great benefit to the Church that the earlier missionaries gave no encouragement to any expectation of help from England in financial matters, and that under Bishop Tucker's direction this policy has been so consistently maintained. If, however the work is to continue on its present scale—to say nothing of further extension—greater liberality among the rank and file of the Christians will be needed. The fact that the Church in Uganda has been able hitherto to build churches and schools and to support its own agents is largely due to the economic conditions of the country and to the self-sacrifice of isolated individuals. The fertile soil and beautiful climate of Uganda has made life extremely easy, and the feudal system prevailing has given Christian chiefs the power to build churches and give substantial help to missionary work. That system is already much modified, and under Sir Harry Johnston's treaty the minor chiefs do not as formerly get a share of the taxes, and are therefore unable to contribute as they used. Besides, a more expensive method of living is rapidly coming into vogue, so that giving requires more self-sacrifice than it did. Clearly there are financial difficulties to be faced in the near future, but confidence is felt as to the ability and readiness of the Church to meet the need for greater sacrifices when that need is more fully realised.

Another problem now under consideration is that of self-government. The development of Church life has been so rapid, that it has of late been seriously considered whether the time may not have arrived for giving to these Christians some form of constitution, under which the Church of Uganda may administer its own affairs. At the Missionary Conference alluded to above, this question was seriously discussed, and it was most interesting to hear the reasons adduced both for and against

the proposal. On the one hand it was urged that the present condition of affairs is unsatisfactory because the Church cannot act formally in its corporate capacity. For instance, all its property has to be vested in the Bishop, who however feels that this arrangement may involve difficulties in the future. The adoption of a Constitution would provide better means for the holding and administration of property ; and it would also provide for a central governing body, whose authority would be generally recognised. With the rapidly growing number of clergy and other agents, this is felt to be a real and pressing need. Cases of incompetent or unworthy agents need to be dealt with by a representative body, and so too does the general question of Church discipline. On the other hand, while practically all are agreed that some such authority is desirable, there are many who feel that the Church is not yet ripe for its institution. It is urged that education has not made sufficient progress, that the native Christians are not yet competent to manage their own affairs, and that along with this lack of capacity may be detected a tendency to what we understand by "the swollen head." In particular, they are not yet sufficiently advanced to take the control of work in which European missionaries bear a part. To these objections it is replied by others that in any Synod which may be appointed the European members will by superior education and character exercise a preponderating influence for some time to come, and that the best training for the native leaders may be found in working side by side with the missionaries and sharing their responsibilities. It must be added that a good deal has already been done in this direction by the establishment of Church councils ; but these are not yet thoroughly representative, nor have they any recognised legal status.

The statement of these problems may help to throw some light on the quality of Uganda Christianity, and to help us form a judgment upon the question whether Stanley's forecast was correct. On the whole, I have returned with a strong sense of the reality and depth of the work ; but I am sensible also of the dangers which threaten it at the present time. If there are some symptoms of spiritual decline, there is the greater need for prayer that

the Holy Spirit's influence may be manifested in fresh power. Eleven years ago the missionaries were distressed by the going back of some of their converts. They were led by this to heart-searching and prayer, which resulted in a remarkable revival whose effects are manifest still. Disappointments to-day should lead us to seek the same remedy. Here at home we are experiencing great encouragement to prayer. The Welsh Revival and the manifest blessing granted upon mission work in London and in other parts of the country are tokens that God is ready to answer prayer for the outpouring of His Spirit. The Archbishop's letter calling for special prayer at this season of Whitsuntide cannot fail to prove a further incentive to the same end; and I venture to ask that those who watch with interest the growth of the infant church in Uganda, and who realise the dangers which beset it, may seek to help it in its time of need by remembrance before the Throne of grace.

T. F. V. BUXTON.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK IN CHINA

EVENTS in the Far East are once again forcing the problem of China to the front. Too long, either for her own good or for the peace of the world, that land has been allowed by devious diplomacy to hoodwink the representatives of the Western Powers concerned in her welfare and by long drawn out discussions upon treaties, which her responsible officials have been allowed to sign with every intention of not keeping them, has disguised the real source of her weakness. That weakness has proved itself twice within the past five years a menace to the peace of the world. It was the root cause of the Boxer rebellion, which in turn left an aftermath of international jealousies seething in Peking, the end of which the world has yet to see ; and it was also the chief contributory factor to the present war between Russia and Japan. There is surely little need to labour the point that the vicious and corrupt government of Peking has provided the storm centre for international politics in the last decade—the record of bloodshed upon the soil of China (alas! not yet complete) during that period tells its own horrible tale. What there is need to emphasize—and every philanthropist of every shade should share in doing it—is this, that the weakness which evidences itself in this vicious and corrupt government has one sufficient causal condition, and that that condition is speedily remediable if only the right steps are taken. Let it be readily conceded that earth-hunger and commerce-greed have been ravaging for spoil in that unhappy Empire to the discredit of the nominally Christian nations of the world. These have however taken advantage of the conditions they found there. Other and weaker nations than China have suffered the same oppression, and by an intelligent appreciation of modern conditions of life survive in

safety. But in China there has been no such intelligent appreciation. Her only diplomatic resources have been evasion and cunning. Oriental ignorance has played into the hands of greed with the result so fearfully evident in the Far Eastern problem to-day.

Ignorance then, allied with its offspring bigot pride, is the real problem of China, the source of her troubles and the root of the whole Far Eastern difficulty. No more momentous or necessary task can be attempted in the interest of permanent peace and goodwill than to remove this bigoted ignorance. For the welfare of both East and West the representatives of politics, commerce and religion ought to join forces to carry on the work of true education in China, since it is the vital question of the day and will be neglected at our peril.

I

Where do the Chinese generally stand in the matter of education? In this connection it is to be feared that the phrase Chinese civilization has been over-used, and as a result the public generally misconceive the nature of the civilization of China. They typify to themselves the civilized Chinese as a mild, urbane gentleman desirous only of one thing—to be left severely alone that he may think peacefully upon the moral maxims of Confucius. His anti-foreign attitude—misrepresented as being due to a natural repulsion of his peace-loving mind from the bloodthirsty and discourteous barbarians of the West—is even extolled by some of the self-elected modern champions of Eastern religions. Of the Chinese *as he is*, owing to the prevalence of smartly written and superficial studies of China from the pen of journalists, less and less seems to be known. Few, for instance, would credit that a Chinese Viceroy is capable of such an act of barbarism as the following (taken from the *North China Herald* of April 20). The reference is to the Viceroy of Kwangtung :—

“At a place called Chongtu, to the south-west of Kweilin, a body of several hundred rebels was scattered by several regiments of the Viceroy's troops in November, and their leader Luh-A-Fah, one of the chiefs of the rebellion, was captured. . . . Having captured such a man, Wang Taotai brought him in state to

Kweilin. The Viceroy had already started with his flotilla of over forty boats for Wuchon, but having word of the capture he returned to Kweilin to personally superintend the execution, which was to be no ordinary one. . . . There was no trial, nor any previous torturing, but on the day of his execution he was carried in his cage to the large parade ground adjoining the Huang Chang, which contains the examination halls, &c., right in the centre of the city. Here were gathered all the officials and tens of thousands of people, there being ample room. Without further ado his gold bracelets were taken off and he was stretched on a framework for execution by *ling-chih*, i.e. the slow carving process. Then it was announced that he was to be offered up as a sacrifice for all the lives that had been lost in the rebellion. His tablet was inscribed in accordance with this idea. . . . The process began, but no sound or cry escaped from the sufferer from first to last. Only when his bowels were cut open did his head fall, but he quickly raised it again. Finally his head was cut off. . . . So terrible was the sight that many among the onlookers fainted, a truly remarkable thing for Chinese to do. Ultimately his heart and other members were brought to the Viceroy, who had the heart opened and in the cover of a teacup drank some of the blood. . . . The Viceroy retained his liver to take with him to Canton."

Now this is an extreme case, but it is one of the facts of *Chinese civilization in being*. It is not the act of a brigand or a criminal, but a *Viceroy*, not a low-born man, but one whose father was also among the highest officials of the Empire, and it illustrates a phase of Chinese life too often ignored. Taking Chinese officialdom in the mass, although as we shall see there are striking and hopeful exceptions, it must be said that the officials are woefully ignorant of those very things that it is most essential for the good of their country they should know. The old system of education, though approaching dissolution, has not quite broken down, and it is doubtful if much educational reform can be expected from the older generation of Chinese. Yet there is a sound of going in the tops of the mulberry trees telling of change. The days of the standard essay—that great examination test—the Wen Chang, which by long use has been rendered almost sacred to good Confucianists—seem certainly numbered. In the minds of the younger generation and the more intelligent of the older, there has come the suspicion, deepening into conviction, that in the

crucial test of foreign relationship Confucianism has failed them, and they must look outside for the needed strengthening ideas. Since the first too violent plunge in 1898, the Chinese have been in matters of education like a child taking its first sea bath, touching and running away, but venturing deeper every time. The leaven of new ideas is making itself apparent by increasingly frequent questions upon current topics in the various examinations. The monopoly of Confucianism is already broken. The position then is (*a*) Ignorance—the great cause of China's woe—still in appalling evidence ; but, (*b*) beginning to recognize itself and searching for a remedy.

II

In estimating the forces which are making for educational reform in China it must not be forgotten that the competitive examination system is, and is likely to remain, the only road to official life. This remarkable system, which as Meadows long ago pointed out, has been the fundamental cause of the unity of the Chinese Empire, must therefore provide the standard for the great body of Chinese learning. Learning for learning's sake is a rare thing, all forms of ambition—fame, power, wealth and influence—centre around an official career. Briefly then, it follows that any change in the general educational methods of China will proceed only after a reform of the whole system of examinations. That is, *educational reform must begin at the top if it is to be successful*. This was fully recognized by the reformers of 1898, who, whatever may be thought of the wisdom or otherwise of their policy, had undoubtedly laid hold of the right end of the stick, and it is a tribute to their ideas, as well as a most hopeful sign of the times, that what they attempted to accomplish at one stroke is being gradually introduced under pressure of national necessity by their erstwhile opponents. From such a policy certain profound reforms must follow in the general educational system of the Empire—indeed these are already in evidence. Questions which examiners may be prompted to ask candidates must be taught to answer, and the works translated and circulated in China by the Society

for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge¹ upon such subjects as universal geography, history, political economy, and science have had a remarkable effect in providing Literary Chancellors with materials for questions. Nor does it end here. Students must not only have those books and study them, they require teachers to explain their meaning, and here the present school system breaks down. It now becomes clear that the reform of the examination system—a proven national necessity—must be accompanied by a corresponding reform of the whole educational method. It is just at this point that intelligent China (a majority of her influential youth and a strong minority of her leading aged) to-day stands. The question for her is what forces can she command and on whom can she rely for the help she needs. In this connection the old voluntary common school system must be ignored, for as a path to the civil service of the Empire that system is at the end of its tether, and must be replaced by a comprehensive scheme of elementary education under Government control.

Speaking broadly, three courses are open to the Chinese Government in the work of educational reform. It may, *first*, decide to train its own teachers in provincial universities and colleges by calling in a body of foreign professors to staff these institutions. Something along these lines has been attempted, and in some instances has met with success. The Shansi University at Tai-Yuen-fu, which is under the general direction of Dr. Timothy Richard and has a missionary as principal, seems to be doing good work. It is at any rate well staffed and well equipped, and provides a model of what provincial colleges ought to be. Very much, however, depends upon the personnel of the teaching staff, and it is unfortunate for China that by intolerance she has cut herself off in most instances from the services of those best qualified to help her—that is, the missionary educationists. It was by an intolerant insistence on the worship of Confucius that the Chinanfu College—founded by Yuan Shih Kai, lost its first principal, Dr. W. M. Hayes. The gradual enlightenment of higher officials will minimize this

¹ Known in England as the Christian Literature Society.

difficulty, although, while China abides politically by Confucius, it cannot remove it.

In almost all instances it has been the case that colleges for Western learning in China have been unsuccessful unless under the direction of foreigners. The Imperial University of Peking and Nanyang College are cases in point. And, moreover, even if all the colleges opened had been successful they would but have touched the fringe of China's need. To secure the end in view, the preparation of teachers for a rational system of education in elementary schools, there should be established one of these colleges in every *fu* city in the Empire. The difficulty of staffing such colleges is, however, insuperable at the present time, even if the Government were willing. Contemporaneous with the establishment of the half-dozen provincial colleges has been the movement in favour of sending young scholars to Japan for a course of study. A type of official, reform in sympathy and yet anti-foreign in spirit, represented by the Viceroy Chang Chih Tung, has turned largely to Japan in the last few years as the place where China can send her youth without spoiling their Confucian idealism. With perhaps one notorious exception all the young Chinese educated in England and America have returned to their native land ardent advocates of Western learning. So the idea was mooted that six months in Japan is worth two years of the Far West. How many Chinese are in consequence studying (*sic*) in Japan the writer does not know—some time ago it was stated the number was 2,000. It is a passing phase, bound to perish of superficiality, but interesting as an illustration of China's confessed weakness. In the meantime it is producing a crop of those dangers which inevitably spring from a little knowledge.

A *second* course is possible to China in educational reform. Realising her own inability to cope with the situation she may call in the aid of Japan. There are many less likely things than that within five years a Board of Education may be established in Peking under Japanese direction. Indeed events seem moving that way. In addition to the large numbers of young Chinese now studying in Tokyo many hundreds of Japanese teachers have been distributed

among the schools and colleges of China even while the war has been in progress, and many more are to be found acting as advisers to high officials, civil and military, throughout the land. Tens of thousands of fairly educated young Japanese, speaking the Chinese language, will be free for this work when the war is over. How far China will desire this coming Japanese invasion, or be able to withstand it if she does not, is an open question, and to what extent Japan will desire to see China strengthened by an educational reformation is a point still more moot. Such a Board of Education may be a reactionary force beyond a certain point. It is by no means certain that Japan wants to see China strong and self-dependent, it is only certain that it is to the interest of Japan to make her strong enough to resist the aggressions of Western Powers and intelligent enough to deal rationally with the problems raised by the foreign interests represented in her territory. It must be remembered that although the education authorities in Japan know as well as anyone the futility of a six months' course of study in Japan as a means of grace for China they have yet aided and abetted the scheme and worked it thoroughly as part of the pro-Japanese propaganda in Asia. They have yet to convince the friends of China of their disinterested desire for a real reform of her educational methods. One thing, however, seems certain, the supremacy of Japan in the councils of Peking must lead to an edict of toleration. The vexed missionary question, so far as it concerns politics, might have been settled, as the Japanese settled it, any time in the last fifty years by a comprehensive scheme of toleration and the consequent opening up of the public services to Christians. With that accomplished, a solution of the educational difficulty is also in sight.

With toleration a fact a *third* course is open to China. She may call upon the graduates of mission schools and colleges for aid as teachers. At present a majority of these young men are by the necessity of the case driven into commercial life. Even those who are not Christian among them have no desire to re-enter the limbo of Confucianism which teaching in an official school involves, while for the Christian youth the monthly prostration before the tablet

of Confucius is an impossibility. That very many of these young men are eminently fitted for the work of teaching is proved by the success which has attended those who have entered the scholastic profession. As teachers in private schools and as tutors in the families of enlightened officials these young men are in great demand. The scope of their opportunity must soon be immensely widened. The one fear of those engaged in the educational work of Christian Missions in China is that when the Chinese Government calls upon the Christian Church for aid, as call she must, Christian Missions will be found all unprepared with a response. The mere fact that the missionary, as a class, is the only really disinterested friend represented in the wide clash of national and commercial interests in China is bound to tell in the end.¹ It is telling in thousands of official minds already, and provides the greatest opportunity that the Christian Era has presented for the advancement of the Kingdom of God. Unlike the political Japanese professor, the Christian missionary is glad to teach *all* he knows to his Chinese scholars. He stands in no dread of the results of Christian education on the Chinese race. If, in addition to her evangelistic and philanthropic work in China, the Church of Christ can in the next ten years train ten thousand Christian young men as teachers, she will in all human probability and in the providence of God have saved China. Issues so momentous as those presented by China have not been raised in the whole history of the Christian Church. The question is this: Is the Church of Christ (I speak of Church, of course, in its widest sense) not prepared to do what a heathen nation seems ready to attempt? Does devotion to Christ mean so little to Christians, or is it of so puerile and narrow a type, that the patriotism of a heathen nation proves the greater incentive? In a word, are Christians prepared to do for the Kingdom of God in China what Japan will attempt for her national interests there? That is the issue being raised before us to-day.

To summarize. The Yellow Peril is a fact. Ignorance

¹ This is said remembering the signal services that have been rendered to China by members of the Consular and Customs services and by many merchants; still it remains true that the only class of foreigners resident in China from purely philanthropic motives is the missionary.

is the real Yellow Peril. Enlightenment is its only remedy. An enlightened China will provide less of a Tom Tiddler's ground for hungry adventurers, national and individual, but gives the only security for peace in the Far East. To secure this enlightenment is the prime duty of the Christian world, and is the great work of Christian Missions. As the one chief means to this end the immediate increase of the teaching force of Missions, at least tenfold, is imperative. No more truly Christian act, nor one so likely to disarm criticism and convince the Chinese of the sincerity of those engaged in missionary work, can be conceived.

W. NELSON BITTON.

AN EARLY ANGLICAN MISSION TO THE EASTERN CHURCHES.

It will probably be new to many readers to hear that in the early years of the Church Missionary Society efforts were made to infuse fresh life into the Christian Churches of the East, not by proselytising, but by influencing the Patriarchs and Bishops of those Churches to take the lead in the work of internal reform. The story is a curious one, and may be worth recalling.

In the Society's early days all sorts of suggestions were made to it. Among these were "frequent and strong representations"—so described in the Report of 1818—that "clergymen of learning, intelligence, and piety" should be stationed at various Continental cities, particularly in Italy. The idea was not to try to add to the number of Protestant communities abroad, nor to encourage secessions from the Roman Church, but rather to stimulate reforming movements within the National Churches of France, Italy, and Spain. The Society, however, felt that its funds, given for the evangelisation of the non-Christian world, were not applicable to such objects; but the Committee were willing to "render advice and assistance to suitable clergymen" willing to "revive," not the Roman Church only, but also the too rationalistic Protestant Churches of Germany, Holland, &c. Apparently they had no opportunity of giving such "advice," as no one came forward.

But it was different with the Churches of the East. The Society did enter upon an important enterprise with a view to their possible revival. Where lay the difference? It lay in this, that the revival of the Eastern Churches would undoubtedly have an effect on the Mohammedan and heathen world. "It has not appeared," says the same Report, "conformable to the direct design of the Society to expend any part of its funds on Christian

countries, otherwise than with the *ultimate view of winning, through them, the heathen to the reception of the Gospel.*"

Long before this, indeed, the eyes of the Society's founders had rested with peculiar interest on the sacred regions of the East. It was humiliating that in the lands in which the Incarnate Son of God lived and died, in which Apostles laboured, from which the Gospel had first sounded out, a fanatical and yet sterile religion like Islam, the enemy of all enlightenment, the bar to all progress, should be dominant. Yet the Eastern Churches, so far from being effective instruments for winning the Mohammedans to Christ, had done practically nothing in that direction. To stir them up to this duty seemed a proper work for the young Society.

The actual proposal which led to the Society's enterprises in the Mediterranean came, strange to say, from a Roman Catholic. Two English friends of the Society had been visiting Malta, and had made the acquaintance there of Dr. Cleardo Naudi. From them, no doubt, he heard of the new Missionary Society of the Church of England; and in June 1811 he addressed a letter to the Rev. Josiah Pratt.¹ In this curious document he calls attention to "the multitudes of Christians of different denominations in the Levant (*i.e.* the various Oriental Churches) living mingled in confusion with the Turkish inhabitants." Prior to the war, he says, the Roman Congregation De Propaganda Fide frequently sent missionaries to these "ignorant Christians"; but that institution being "now no more—its property sold, its revenues usurped and diverted"—they were "deprived of the true light of the Gospel." There were still, it was true, some "Fathers of St. Francis" in Egypt, but, it was "much to be lamented," they were "very ill-informed." "It now, therefore," he goes on, "devolves upon you to enter on this labour of propagating the Christian Faith among Infidels, and of confirming it among the Ignorant." And he appeals for missionaries of the English Church who would "accommodate themselves to Eastern customs in

¹ Josiah Pratt is described by Dr. Overton as "quite one of the best in every way of the Evangelical clergy." It was he who compiled the anonymous book *Propaganda*, to assist the revival and development of the S.P.G. in 1818. He was Secretary of the C.M.S. from 1802 to 1824.

respect of manners, dress, &c.," and learn Arabic and modern Greek.

It is surely a curious spectacle. Evidently the good doctor was a truly pious man. To him Eastern Christendom was heretical, and should be enlightened by Western Christendom. Rome was no doubt the chief representative of Western Christendom ; but if she failed, the English Church, as an independent branch, was quite qualified to teach the East. It is remarkable also that he quotes a Greek deacon who had observed to him that "the institution of the Bible Society of England must have taken place by heavenly inspiration !"

The C.M.S. Committee responded warmly. In the report read at the anniversary of 1812, they invited "zealous young clergymen" to come forward and be "the honoured instruments of confirming and propagating the doctrine of the Cross in countries dear to them as Christians." The Abyssinian Church, and Egypt, and Arabia, and Persia, and the Syrian Church of Malabar, were all referred to ; and the Committee expressed their longing for another Pentecost when "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa—in Egypt—and Arabians," would "speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God."

The Island of Malta, from which Dr. Naudi wrote, had come into the possession of Great Britain only a few years before ; and the C.M.S. Committee considered that "the course of Divine Providence plainly indicated that the Church of England was called to the discharge of an important duty there." They at once appointed Naudi the Society's correspondent, and proposed to give a special commission to a young Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, the Rev. W. Jowett, a great-uncle of the famous Master of Balliol. He was to go out as the Society's "Literary Representative," making Malta his headquarters, and travelling about the Levant to inquire into the condition of the Churches and to confer with their leading men on the best way of "propagating Christian knowledge." Jowett accepted this commission, and went out in 1815, about two months after the battle of Waterloo, which brought the long conflict with Napoleon to an end, and gave peace to the

Mediterranean Sea. And as the first Cambridge man enrolled by the C.M.S. was appointed to this special work, so also were the first two Oxford men, James Connor and John Hartley, who went out with similar commissions within the next few years.

The political state of the Levant, and of a great part of the Mediterranean littoral, was very different then from what it is now. Greece and the Greek Islands, and Egypt and North Africa, were integral parts of the Turkish Empire, with no English or French or Italian "protectorates." Asia Minor and Syria and Palestine were less known to the Western World, except in regard to their ancient classical and sacred associations, than Central Africa is to-day. Burckhardt, the traveller, was famous as an explorer of unknown regions, yet he scarcely went beyond the tourist routes of our own time. There is a curious illustration of this in that remarkable periodical, the *Missionary Register*, which Josiah Pratt conducted (independently of the C.M.S.) for thirty years, and which systematically recorded the proceedings of all the Societies, including the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., and even noted, year by year, the revival and progress of Roman Missions. In the volume for 1818 there is a quite elementary account of the population and condition of Jerusalem, *sent from Madras*, being derived from an Armenian Bishop visiting India!—evidently inserted as conveying important information. The journals of Jowett, Connor, and Hartley give minute and most interesting details touching the condition of the countries and peoples they visited, and of the ancient Churches to which the Christian populations belonged. The kind of travelling can be imagined from the fact that on one occasion the voyage from Malta to Constantinople took two months and nine days, and that on another occasion seven weeks were occupied in getting from Marseilles to Malta.

The scope and purpose of the Mission may be gathered from the "Instructions" given from time to time by the Society. From Malta as a centre Jowett was to survey the religious horizon. First he was to look at the Roman Church:

"Notice her condition—any favourable indications—the means of communicating to her our privileges. You cannot act, under

your circumstances, as a public impugner of her errors, nor as a reformer of her practice ; but you may watch, with a friendly eye, to ascertain the best means of restoring her to primitive health and vigour."

Then he was to study the various Oriental Churches, Greek, Jacobite or Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian, Armenian, Nestorian. Then the Mohammedans :

"Carry your eye all round the Sea, by its north-eastern, its eastern, its south-eastern, its southern and its south-western borders, and you behold the triumphs of the False Prophet. Turkey presents itself as almost begirding, directly or by its vassal states, this inland ocean."

Then the Jews : "Multitudes are scattered among the Mohammedans, and no one has hitherto investigated the state of this people." Nor are the Druses and other strange communities omitted from the enumeration. Then as to methods of work : Jowett was to visit and correspond with rulers and consuls and ecclesiastics and travellers of all kinds ; to form, if possible, local associations for the distribution of the Scriptures ; to prepare for the establishment of a printing press at Malta ; to study the languages of the Levant, and to seek for valuable MSS. of the Scriptures in them. Then it was hoped that "some of the distinguished Prelates of our Church" would open a correspondence with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, "so that through their influence our systems of education might be communicated, and Bible Societies established."

It was, indeed, to the Eastern Churches that the Society chiefly looked for the future evangelisation of the non-Christian populations in the neighbouring Asiatic and African countries. "As these Churches," the Committee said, "shall reflect the clear light of the Gospel on the Mohammedans and Heathens around, they will doubtless become efficient instruments of rescuing them from delusion and death." "It is by bringing back these Churches to the knowledge and love of the sacred Scriptures that the blessing from on high may be expected to descend on them." Again :—

"The revival of the Greek Church, in its primitive purity and vigour, should be an object of the affectionate exertions and earnest prayers of all who wish the extension of Christianity in

Hilarion (afterwards an Archbishop in Bulgaria), undertook a version of the New Testament in modern Greek, which was duly published. Secondly, a translation of the Ethiopic Bible of the Abyssinian Church had been made a few years before by an aged monk named Abu Rumi; whose MS., consisting of 9,539 pages in the Amharic language and character, was lighted on and purchased by Jowett, and large portions of it printed and circulated. The English Prayer Book also was translated by Schlienz into Arabic, Turkish, and Amharic, the S.P.C.K. assisting with money grants.

A good deal of literary work in connection with the scheme was done by Samuel Lee, afterwards Professor of Arabic at Cambridge and Canon of Bristol. Lee had been a carpenter's apprentice at Shrewsbury, who, while working at his trade, had acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, before he was twenty-five years of age. He was sent to Cambridge at the expense of the C.M.S., and was for some years employed as "the Society's Orientalist." His valuable historical sketches of the Abyssinian Church and the Syrian Church of Malabar were published by the Society. Another of his services was the production of the first grammar and vocabulary of the Maori language of New Zealand, based upon personal intercourse with a Maori Chief brought to England by the Society for the purpose.

In 1820 Jowett was in England for a few months, and brought out a valuable work, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, on the plan of Claudius Buchanan's previous book on the Malabar Syrian Church; and so great was the interest aroused by his accounts of the Bible lands dear to Christian hearts, that he was, at the age of thirty-four, appointed to preach the annual C.M.S. sermon. His text was "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches." The ancient Churches of Ephesus and Pergamos and Thyatira and Sardis and Laodicea were, in their respective distinguishing features, abundantly represented in the Oriental Christendom of the nineteenth century; and there were not wanting, here and there, Churches in some degree worthy to represent

even Smyrna and Philadelphia. In this excellent sermon Jowett did not view the Eastern Christians merely as objects of interest and sympathy. He saw that they ought to be the evangelists of the Moslem world. But for this they were not yet qualified. "They believe in Christianity; but the grounds of their belief are not such as would persuade unbelieving nations. Christianity is upheld chiefly by Custom and by Authority; and not unfrequently, by belief in idle legends and lying wonders." Therefore they must be familiarised with the Scriptures, and taught the historical evidences of the Faith. And the enterprise of enlightening the Oriental Churches was to be regarded only as a preparatory work. Jowett's ardent hopes looked forward to "the conversion of the Mohammedan Provinces which encompass two-thirds of the Mediterranean, the recovery of the Jews to their true Messiah, and eventually the evangelising of all the dark and unknown regions of Interior Africa."

These far-reaching hopes were not damped by the sad and untoward events that immediately ensued in the East. On Monday, April 30, 1821, Jowett preached his sermon. On the very Sunday following, May 6, a terrible outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism occurred at Constantinople. The venerable Patriarch of the Greek Church, who had so heartily thrown himself into the work of Bible translation and distribution, was attacked by a Turkish mob while performing divine worship, and dragged to a cruel and ignominious death. Other Bishops and priests were killed, and the outrage was followed by others not less barbarous in many parts of the Turkish Empire. In particular, the frightful massacre at Scio horrified all Europe—a rehearsal, one may say, of the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities of later years. The city of Scio was sacked; the great College, the headquarters of Greek learning, the churches, the hospitals, the houses, were all destroyed, and the valuable libraries burnt; and thousands of the people were mercilessly slaughtered. These outrages led to the Greek War of Independence; and thus began the gradual dismemberment of Turkey. Christian Englishmen at that time little thought that the Ottoman Empire would last through the century; they would have been shocked at

the idea of British blood and treasure being expended in the hopeless attempt to prop it up. By them, and by their fathers for several centuries, the Turk had been ever looked upon as the relentless foe of Christendom ; the Poles who had hurled him back from the gates of Vienna, and the Greeks who now rose against him, were the heroes of those days. The advance of Russia, if anticipated at all, was anticipated with pleasure and hope. Several Russian Bible Societies had been established and were doing splendid work. In the *Missionary Register* of December 1817 there are speeches reported of the Archbishops of Moscow and Tobolsk, delivered at meetings of the societies of those cities. The Czar Alexander himself was the ardent promoter of Bible and missionary enterprise, and the personal friend of the Gurneys and Frys and other leaders of philanthropy in England. Russia was looked to as the ally of all that was good ; Turkey, as almost the embodiment of evil. In a powerful introduction to the *Missionary Register* of 1823, Josiah Pratt enlarged on the subject. "The stronghold of the Mohammedan Antichrist," he wrote, "is shaken to its foundations."

The work in Turkey and Asia Minor was from this time greatly impeded. But the establishment of the kingdom of Greece led to high anticipations of a general revival of Greek influence in the East ; and the Society, encouraged by the reception given by Greek Bishops to Mr. Hartley, formed plans for educational work in the interest of those Churches. Athens was occupied by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America ; and subsequently that Church had for a time a missionary Bishop at Constantinople. The Church Missionary Society chose the Island of Syra, and also Smyrna—which, though in the Turkish dominions, was one of the most important Greek centres in the East. In 1829 a Prussian, F. A. Hildner, was stationed at Syra ; and there he lived and worked for fifty-four years, having in 1841 received Anglican orders from Bishop Blomfield. He carried on a school called the Pædagogion, and gave a sound Scriptural education to hundreds of Greeks. When he died in 1883, the English chaplain at Athens went over and took the funeral service in the Greek cathedral by permission of the Archbishop of Syra, in the presence of a

vast concourse of people. A succession of German missionaries in Anglican orders worked for many years quietly at Smyrna.

The continuation, however, of these small Missions was rather out of respect for the good and really able men who conducted them with such quiet persistence, than with any confident expectation of effecting important results. From about 1840 downwards the Society, with its rapidly increasing responsibilities in Africa, India, Ceylon, New Zealand, and North-West Canada, and with China promising an early open door, ceased to throw its energies into what was called its Mediterranean Mission.

The same remark applies to the work in Egypt. A learned German named Lieder was there for thirty-five years; and he and two or three brethren itinerated all over the country. The Coptic Patriarch and priests were generally friendly; and in 1842 Lieder opened a Theological Seminary for the training of their clergy, of which they made great use for several years. One of the students became Abuna (Archbishop) in the Abyssinian Church. Lieder's literary work included the revision for the S.P.C.K. of the Coptic and Arabic New Testaments, and the translation into Arabic of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom and other patristic works. But after the first few years he was left alone; and the Mission was formally abandoned before his death at Cairo in 1865.

Other Germans went to Abyssinia, one of them, Samuel Gobat, afterwards second Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem. Although it is probable that no Christian Church has ever descended so low in both doctrine and practice as the Abyssinian—the "Christian" King of Shoa had five hundred "wives"—yet the missionaries, in their constant efforts to find common ground with the priests and monks rather than to denounce their failures, were not always disappointed. They did come across some "pious, conscientious, upright, and self-denying priests," although ignorant, and a few who really were "well acquainted with the Bible, and with the writings of the Eastern Fathers." This Mission did not, like the others, die a natural death. The missionaries were three times expelled by the king at the instigation of their Jesuit rivals. The last of them,

Krapf, went to the East African coast, and began those wonderful explorations which led eventually to the opening up of the Dark Continent, the British and German Protectorates, and the Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Uganda Missions of our own day.

No attempt has been made in later years to revive the old C.M.S. Missions to the Eastern Churches. In 1849, in consequence of a communication from the Foreign Office forwarding an appeal for help and instruction from the Assyrian Christians, the Society sent out the Rev. John Bowen on an extensive journey of inquiry. (Mr. Bowen was afterwards third Bishop of Sierra Leone. His wife was a sister of Dr. Butler, the present Master of Trinity.) Nothing came of this; and the work has been taken up in recent years by what is called the Archbishop's Mission. The Society's Palestine Mission was begun, very reluctantly, in 1851, at the earnest request of Bishop Gobat.

The original enterprise, then, came to nought. Beginning with good prospect of success, it ended in apparent failure. All that can be said for it is that the wide circulation of the Scriptures, the Prayer Book of the English Church, and other Christian literature, in many languages, is not likely to have been entirely fruitless. It seems quite possible that the greater enlightenment which later travellers have found in the Churches of the East may at least have been fostered by that literature. In other respects they may have been stirred up, just as they were afterwards in Palestine. When Bishop Gobat went to Jerusalem in 1847 he found not a single school in the whole country, except that certain Latin monks were teaching Italian to a few boys. He opened the first Christian school forthwith, and in a few years had twenty-five; but meanwhile a healthy emulation had caused the opening of a hundred others by the Greeks and Latins. Certainly, however, the efforts not only of the Church Missionary Society, but of every other organisation, have failed in the one thing which was the original object of the C.M.S. Mission, viz. the leading the Eastern Churches to labour for the evangelisation of the Mohammedans.

The later work of the Church Missionary Society in

the East has been undertaken more definitely and more directly for that purpose. "The pastoral care of Oriental Christians who may wish to declare themselves Protestants," said the Committee some years ago, "forms no proper branch of the labours of this Society." As a matter of fact, Bishop Gobat, after refusing to receive Greek congregations that applied to him, and seeing them at once received and absorbed by the Roman Missions, was constrained to accept some who had been excommunicated for reading the Arabic Scriptures; and eventually he transferred them to the care of the C.M.S. Hence the present Anglican congregations in Palestine. But the design of the Society's enlarged educational and medical work in the Holy Land is to influence the Moslem population; and so it is in the revived Egypt Mission, and in the newer Missions in Persia and Turkish Arabia.

It was Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, of Oxford, who said, in one of his great missionary speeches, that the ancient Church of North Africa was permitted to be swept away because it made no efforts for the evangelisation of the non-Christian African peoples. The true revival of the Churches of the East will take place when they arouse themselves in the name of the Lord to proclaim His Gospel and His Kingdom to the Mohammedan races by which they are now surrounded.

EUGENE STOCK.

[It seems right to state that the facts in this article have been taken from my *History of the C.M.S.* I traced them all out when compiling that work seven years ago.—E.S.]

THE MISSION OF HELP TO THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE movement which took place last year known as the "Mission of Help to the Church of South Africa" can certainly claim to be unique in the history of the English Church. Never before had such a movement been dreamt of, or carried out on such a scale and for such a purpose. The Church in England has been charged with a want of interest and of zeal in the work of the Church abroad, whether among her own people or among the heathen, and the charge is a deserved one. A revival in missionary interest has undoubtedly taken place within the past thirty years, but, in comparison with what the Church does for herself at home, the money that is spent on the elaboration of churches and the organisation of parochial agencies, the supply both of men and of means for the work of the Church in our Colonies has been sadly out of proportion.

The Church in South Africa has been a struggling Church. Late in the day she met the spiritual needs of her children who have gone out to make the land. It is not yet sixty years since Bishop Gray was sent out as the first Bishop of Cape Town; and when the war of 1899 broke out she had to encounter new sufferings, which only those can know who have had experience of what war means and what it brings in its deadly train. It is not necessary to mention here the sympathy that went out to South Africa during the late Boer War; but when peace came the whole attitude of the Englishman towards South Africa became changed. South Africa was now part of the Empire, and the question—still unanswered—became more prominent than before, "What is South Africa to become?" "What are we going to do with it?" At any rate, it was an English possession, and whatever the answer

to the question might be in regard to race, or commerce, or politics, the question spiritually could admit of no doubt whatever—the country must be claimed for God, and it must be the responsibility and the joy, as well as the task, of the English Church to assert that claim and make it felt. It must be the intense desire of the Mother Church at home to bring out in personal and practical form her genuine care for her children out there, and to express her sympathy with them in the difficult task of making their way and working out their own salvation.

The life of the community had become disorganised by the havoc of war. The task before the Government was one of reconstruction and of reorganisation. New elements had been introduced into the country, new problems had arisen. It was recognised that the Church must take her share in the burden if the lessons which the war had taught were to be brought home to the people of South Africa, and was the South African Church adequate to the task? The Church was weakened, exhausted, insufficiently equipped. It was clear that the Church must provide for the task and count in the life of the community. She must bring into the new conditions the true connection between life and religion. Religion must be brought home to those out there in the terms of life. The claim of God over human life needed to be revealed, and God Himself made personal in the life. This Help was to come in the way of Missions. The kind of life or the type of man to deal with might be peculiarly difficult, but it was clear that in constructing society in South Africa citizens were needed who would be men of moral and religious strength because they were men of strong religious convictions. The need was to bring the Christian Church conscience to be a great living power in the nation; that the Church should stand up as a public witness, as a corporate whole, that its conscience should become a power that could be recognised as a force in the State.

There was one at home who was quick to detect this responsibility and to seize the opportunity—one who possessed himself of the ideal of some great spiritual venture from England, whereby the tragedy of war should be succeeded by some fruit of definite peace. This was

Bishop Wilkinson, the present Bishop of St. Andrew's. The vision of a Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa rose before him, and to him came the invitation from the Archbishop of Cape Town and the Bishops in South Africa to come over and help the Church in her hour of weakness and distress. Then the Mission was organised. It was to be thoroughly representative of English Churchmanship. There was to be no public appeal for the funds to carry out the work. Money was collected by private voluntary effort. Bishop Wilkinson himself went out to make personal investigation as to the readiness of the Church for such a venture. A band of forty men was gathered who would undertake the work. South Africa was mapped out from Cape Colony to Rhodesia, with the districts or towns the missionaries were to visit. As early as December 1903 the men thus invited assembled at Westminster Abbey for prayer, for conference, and to learn the point of view which the Mission was to take; and on Saturday, April 7, last year, after receiving the Holy Communion together in Westminster Abbey, the first band of missionaries, seventeen in number, left England to commence their work immediately on their arrival at Cape Town. On the same evening they arrived they were welcomed by the Archbishop of Cape Town in the cathedral, and received his blessing; the next day saw the departure of the men to their several stations, some going straight north to Johannesburg, and some to begin the Mission preaching in Cape Colony.

It was a great venture, and it may be easily understood how the missionaries felt that the undertaking could never be faced were it not that they were supported by thousands of prayers which would be offered at home as well as in South Africa, and that their only hope consisted in an absolute reliance upon the Holy Spirit.

The first thing to be noticed about the Mission is the remarkable welcome which was given to the missionaries from the very first. The hearts of clergy and laity alike were moved by the thought of the wonderful expression of the sympathy which the Mother Church was revealing to her sons out there in such a practical manner. Here was in a very practical form an active spiritual co-operation

between the two Churches. Here was the intermingling of mutual gifts. Here were men come out to the struggling Church in South Africa not to criticise, but to sympathise, to stir, to encourage, to inspire, and to help. And thus it was that the laymen as well as the clergy were on the lookout for a definite spiritual gift which should sanctify life, interpret life, and bring God into it. Governors, mayors, magistrates, men of business threw themselves into it, and much gratitude was expressed by such men for the way in which the Mission had supported what they all along are struggling to produce, a strong religious and moral foundation for social and individual life to be built upon. Everywhere, in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Durban, Pretoria, as well as in the smaller places up the country, the missionaries found the same eagerness and the same response.

For verily the response was great. The numbers who came to the services, and the long distances some came to attend the services, showed a keen desire to profit by the work. And this response was not confined to Church people. Members of other religious bodies came. The missionaries were prayed for in the chapels. All who loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and were keen for the uplifting of their country showed interest in the work. Consequently the work was far-reaching. Sermons were preached and services were held not only in the churches, but in town halls and market halls, and in buildings where there were no churches. The reach was to be as wide as possible, however much or little the missionaries might be able to grasp. The obligations of England to South Africa are large, therefore ideas must be large. Though primarily the Mission was for our own people, the influence was felt among the Dutch and among the natives, for the clergy who are ministering to the natives came to have a share in the blessing of the Mission, and in the difficulty and loneliness of their lives were refreshed by the message from home.

And what about the method? The method was simply one of spiritual appeal. It is this which made the Mission of Help different from ordinary Missions in England. We did not know what to expect. We did not know the intri-

cacies of life out there sufficiently to have any cut-and-dried method. All we knew was that if South Africa was to be claimed for God then God must be brought home to the hearts of the people as a God who took a practical interest in their lives, and who claimed their allegiance by the surrender of their wills to the dictates of His Holy Spirit. We brought the simple Gospel. In private conversation we had to disentangle men's minds who were confused with theological and scientific problems; but behind all the confusion and the doubt in many and many a man, the real need became disclosed, and the life itself was restored to contact with God. The type of man who has to be dealt with in South Africa may be strangely misconceived. He is not a mere money-grubber, but one who is facing life and its difficulties in constructing society. Hardworking men, full of plans and of courage for the development of the country, need to be shown the true meaning and aim of all their work. Deep down in the hearts of many was discovered the desire to be righteous, only the conception of a righteous life had become obscured by the lack of opportunity for having the ideal kept to the front, or from the way in which in many minds the Church had come to stand for a sect, with no wide horizon for ventures of faith and efforts of love, or from the terrible downfall of yielding to sin. To such the Mission came with its message of hope and of peace, and lives became turned to God—a God of whom they had now gained a new conception. It is surely in this kind of work that the faith of the Church is confirmed, and men come to understand that “other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.” Lamenting, as we have to, the apathy and indifference of many to the Church at home, it was indeed a cheering sight to see the readiness of so many out there to be helped, and the lack of anything like self-consciousness among the men and young men. It was the experience of many of the missionaries how large a number of men came to consult them in comparison with their experience of Missions in England. They came during business hours as well as after the services, and were quite simple and direct about their difficulties and their needs. And the method adopted was not simply

individual. The Mission was to awaken in men's hearts the sense of the corporate life of the Church, that they were members of the Body of Christ; consequently, that they must bind themselves together to help and encourage each other and to work for the welfare of the whole Church. The work of the Church in South Africa is necessarily isolated; the size of the country, the fewness of the clergy, the great distances—these tend to diminish the sense of corporate life and unity; but the Mission revealed the excellence of the work which has been done, and the self-denying efforts of the clergy and of many of the laity, both men and women, in spite of all difficulties. It can but be hoped that the work of the Mission will have strengthened their hands.

So for six months the work went on from one diocese to another in order, under two groups: Grahamstown, St. John's, Kaffraria; Natal, Zululand, and Cape Town, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Mashonaland. One interesting piece of work was the visit paid to some of the large schools in Natal, Hilton College, Michaelhouse, and St. Anne's, a new large school for girls just outside Maritzburg. Here was seen colonial public school life in full vigour, and most delightful it was. It was indeed a privilege to address the boys of Hilton and Michaelhouse, and to be able to put before them as tersely as possible the significance of life and its responsibilities. The temptation all through South Africa is to take things easy. The climate may be responsible for this, but the boys listened to the missionary's words with a genuine interest, and it was a great thing to be able to put before them the claims of the Church over the lives at least of some of them for advancing the kingdom of Christ in the land. At Grahamstown the boys of the large college, St. Andrew's, attended the Mission services at the cathedral at their own request. It was the same with the senior boys at Dale College at King William's Town. One felt what might be possible if ever such a thing could come to pass as a Mission in our public schools in England.

With all this in the towns, or in the lonely districts on the Veld, in Missions lasting ten days or a fortnight, or on occasions when only one night was available to address a congregation, it may be well imagined how difficult it was

to say good-bye. The time, although one of great strain, was really all too short. How much there was to gather up! how many more to gather in! how touching the constant appeal, "Send us out more men!" As friends came to see the missionaries off on the return home, it seemed as if there were no reason at all for coming home, but every reason to go on elsewhere, so much did sympathy bind together the hearts of the missionaries and people. At the conclusion of the Mission held in Pietermaritzburg, in Durban, and at Johannesburg large farewell meetings were held in the town halls, at which testimony was given as to the blessing the Missions had brought to many places and to many lives. One great happiness experienced in Natal was the way in which there—in Natal, with all its difficulties, all its strifes and divisions—there breathed the spirit of unity and peace. So again the Mission bore testimony to the fact of the welding together of those who had been at war, and the great division between the English and the Dutch became lessened. No mention is here made of the natives of South Africa, or to the work among natives, as the Mission was intended for our own Colonists; but something was done to change the spirit of antagonism which exists between Christian whites and the natives; and our message to the white people was to help them to understand that there can be no Christianity which says that God came to send His Son to die for us, but that there is no necessity to try to preach the Gospel to the native. It is a difficult problem to the Colonist. He is working out that most critical problem about the native under great pressure, and may be impatient in finding a solution; but the more religion can point out to him the worthy aim of all his efforts, and the truth of the incarnation that Christ is the One in whom the whole human race is gathered up anew, the more will he be able to discover both in himself and in the native something akin to God, and that if he is himself truly Christian in thought and word and act, he will be doing more than he knows for the conversion of the native to Christ. Of far greater importance in one respect than the evangelisation of the natives is the evangelisation of the white man. The conversion of the natives will depend in the future more and more upon the type of

Christianity evident in the white man. The native will judge of the power of the Christian religion by what he sees to be the standard of the white man who professes Christianity. If the Colonist is puzzled about the natives and regards them as lower races to be kept under, there is all the more reason for him to be patient and thoughtful when he recollects the standard his own religion places before him, and how often he fails to act up to it. It also discloses the great need of Christian education in South Africa. This has been recognised in a very remarkable way by the Report of the Native Affairs Commission.

Although the Report deals with the subject of education with regard to the life and habits of the heathen, the principle of the value of Christian teaching is asserted. It is not only upon primitive races "that contact with what we are accustomed to regard as civilisation has a demoralising tendency." Hope for the elevation of both civilised and uncivilised must depend mainly on the acceptance of Christian faith and morals.

It may be hoped that the work of this great venture may react upon the spiritual life of England. Certainly South Africa has a message for the Church at home.

First and foremost is the demand for *larger ventures of faith*.

"As we open our eyes to the horizon of the Church, to its world-wide responsibilities, we tremble to think what deeps may close about us, what spiritual ventures we may be called upon to make, what tremendous opportunities are opening to us."¹

But, as our venture has been made, and made under God's blessing, it rebukes any timid, mean-spirited view of what the Church is called upon to do and can do if there be the spirit of self-sacrifice in her clergy.

And then there follows a further message, which is this, that the Church of England, *the Mother Church*, can meet *the spiritual needs of her children*, and not only meet them, but meet them in a way no other religious body can, if only she will present to them the faith in that true proportion which appeals to the spiritual needs of men and makes faith reasonable. This was evident by the way in which men

¹ Canon Scott Holland, Sermon at the Thanksgiving Service.

who were not touched by any mere Revivalist preaching, because there was no time or opportunity given on such occasions to go more deeply into spiritual difficulties, found the Mission of Help of value as able to deal with them, and to show the place of the Sacraments as a sustaining power in life.

Again, a message comes for the Church to recognise her position and her power *in her corporate capacity*. The missionaries were not all men of one type of Churchmanship, and yet in the work there was a beautiful exhibition of unity and brotherly trust. The Mission drew things together. Men, and women too, especially in Cape Town, felt that the work of the Church must be accomplished by her people as a body, and not as units. It must be the conviction of all who have visited and done any work in our Colonies that England is not *here*, but it is everywhere; and that England's Church must recognise that Church life and Church work at home are affected by the way the Church rises up, or does not rise up, to face the problems of life among her children abroad. The spirit of congregationalism is not missionary. It needs to be recognised that, however pressing and important work at home may be, it is not of any greater value in the eyes of the Master than the work of developing Church life and work in the smallest district on the Veld. The Mission showed also how possible it is for the Church to act as a body in harmony with a Church of a Province. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with that question. Readers of this Quarterly will call to mind the lucid article written some little while ago by Dr. A. W. Robinson;¹ but the time is come for the Church to deal wisely and promptly with the great opportunity which is opened up in South Africa, especially in the matter of education. The value of schools like St. Andrew's, Grahamstown, Michaelhouse in Natal, and Rondebosch College at Cape Town cannot be exaggerated as schools where a high tone is preserved under the influence of the best religious spirit. If for the next four or five years a strenuous effort can be made to sustain the work of Christian education in South Africa, it may be hoped that the field may be won for South

¹ "Education in South Africa." THE EAST AND THE WEST, Vol. ii. p. 20.

Africa's children in the matter of religious education. The Church in this matter needs all the support that can be given.

The Mission of Help brings back to England a final message of encouragement and of hope. The work has been one of far-reaching results. We shall never know them ; but as it has been discovered that the Church at home has a Mission of Help to the Church abroad, may it not be well to work for such help to become *permanent* and not only for rare occasions? Means might be devised for sending men out from time to time, and for the disposal of men according to the various needs of the Church at various times and in various places.

As the blessing was asked for, and God's truth was proclaimed, we may humbly believe that God's promise will not fail.

"As the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower, and bread to the eater : so shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth ; it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it."

H. G. DANIELL-BAINBRIDGE.

ISLAM IN INDIA

WHAT may be said to have been the results of Mohammedanism as a religion among the Hindus? That it is able to report a considerable following in the peninsula, the Census tables clearly show. The Census of 1901 records that there are 62,458,000 followers of the prophet in India. About half of these are foreigners and their descendants, who came into India from Western Asia during the days of Mohammedan rule. The remainder are converts from Hinduism and their descendants, the vast majority of whom are in the province of Bengal, where a large section of the population embraced Mohammedanism about two centuries ago. During the last decade the Mohammedans in India increased by 9·1 per cent. This is only an increase over the general advance of 1·9 per cent.; while at the same time the Christians advanced by 18·1 per cent., or 10·9 per cent. above the general increase. When we consider the long time that the Mohammedans have been in India, the prestige that they possessed as the ruling power, the sanction which their religion not only allows but actually commands to use force in conversion, the wonder is that its actual converts from Hinduism have been so few. Indeed, so far as the attempt to convert India to Mohammedanism is concerned, it has resulted in failure.

Two causes may be assigned for the failure of Islam in India. The time that the Mohammedans entered India was most unpropitious for establishing a new faith. It was just at the close of the great Brahmanical revival, which had resulted in the triumph of Hinduism over Buddhism, and the complete expulsion of the latter from the peninsula. The Hindus were therefore devotedly attached to their ancient faith, and the followers of the prophet, who had won such easy victories over the corrupt Christianity of the West, found a far different field in India. So determined were

the Hindus in defending their gods, that ladies are said to have melted their ornaments, while the poorer women spun cotton to support their husbands in the war. It was not until the reign of Akbar the Great that anything approaching a general conquest of India was achieved, which was secured by abandoning the spirit of intolerance and adopting the non-Islam policy of conciliation. But this course was fatal to the spread of Islam. It began at once to decline, and pious Moslems to this day charge Akbar with having ruined the prospects of their faith in Hindustan. The reason of this is plain. Islam is nothing if not intolerant, and, like Christianity, it loses its power when it ceases to be missionary. Hinduism, on the contrary, is the most tolerant of all religions. All that it asks is to be let alone. It does not seek to proselytise from other religions, and simply asks the same consideration at their hands. The moment, therefore, that Islam ceased to enforce its doctrines upon the Hindus marked the defeat of Mohammedanism and the triumph of Hinduism.

"Since then," says Robson, "these two religions have settled down by the side of each other on terms of mutual toleration and charity. This does not imply any great change or deterioration in Hinduism, for its principles admit every belief as truth; but such a position is ruinous to Mohammedanism. When it has lost the power and principle of expansion it must wither and die. Mohammedanism is thus weak and powerless by the side of Hinduism."

The religion practised by the majority of Mohammedans in India to-day no more accords with the teaching of the Koran than the superstitious rites of Rome agree with the teaching of the Gospel. The worship of Allah in many places has lapsed into a mere form, and the religion of Mohammedans is styled "saint worship," and that of the Hindus "image worship." Mohammedan Fakeers dispute with Brahman priests for reverence from the passers-by, while not a few festivals are dear to Moslem and Hindu alike. That this is no exaggeration will be evident from the following extract from an article by a distinguished Mohammedan in a recent number of an English magazine in Madras. He says:

"The baneful influence that Hindu customs have had on Musalmen is painful to read of. Many a Hindu ceremonial has

been incorporated by the followers of the prophet. The marriage ceremonies, instead of keeping to the simple form prescribed by the Koran, have been greatly elaborated, and include processions. Even in religious matters, Hindu and Musalman practices have become curiously blended. Hindus take a leading part in the celebration of Moharrum. Passages from the Koran are sometimes chanted in the Hindu fashion ; Mohammedan women of the lower classes break cocoanuts at Hindu temples in fulfilment of vows. Strangest of all, there is said to be a Hindu temple at a village near Trichinopoly which is sacred to a goddess called 'the Musalmans' lady,' who is said to be the wife of the Hindu god Ranganatha at Srinangem. These are some of the sad features which the census report has brought to light. They tend to show that, except in a few dead formalities, the life of Musalmans in Southern India is nothing different from that of the Hindus. In many cases the followers of the Arabian prophet would seem to have forgotten even the root principles of their religion—the unity of God, the formless and the un-incarnate. This fact alone is more than enough to fill the mind of the true Musalman with anxious concern with regard to the future prospects of Islam in this country. His pious soul can find no rest with the view before him of hundreds and thousands of his co-religionists sunk deep in the degrading practices of the heathen around."

More of the same tenor might be quoted from this instructive paper, but this will be sufficient to show that Hinduism is exerting more influence on Mohammedanism than is commonly supposed. Those who are in a position to know, assure us that in point of morals the Mohammedans are inferior to the Hindus. We would not have ventured such an assertion were it not borne out by the best of evidence. Bishop Thoburn, who has long laboured in North India, where the Mohammedans are most numerous, and where their influence has been the greatest, asserts positively that such is the case. Undoubtedly there are nameless vices associated with Mohammedans, to which even Hindus were strangers.

There is no more ignorant element than the Mohammedan in the population of India. Only six per cent. of the men are able to read, and scarcely any of the women ; and they seem even to-day to have a positive aversion to the English school, while their own schools only tend to make them more fanatical and intolerant. Taking, therefore, the Mohammedan community in India as a whole, it

is in a deplorable condition. Even the best among them acknowledge this, and some of them are making noble efforts to remove this reproach. The Musalman population of Bengal, where Islam has made most of its converts, are the "despised, downtrodden, poor and illiterate portion of the community." Nor is the condition of the foreign population much more cheering. Dr. Hunter, the distinguished statistician of India, just before his lamented death, gave the Government of India a moving picture of their degradation and fall from their high estate. He shows that they have largely ceased to send recruits to the Government offices or to the learned professions, that the respectable families are eaten up with idleness and debt, and that their property is fast passing into the hands of the Hindus.

"For some time after the country passed under our care," he says, "the Mohammedans held all the functions of government in their own hands. The Hindus accepted with thanks such crumbs as fell from their former conquerors' table. Since competitive examinations have been established, however, and these offices have been opened to Hindus and Mohammedans alike, the former have outstripped the latter in every department. In Bengal, where the Mohammedan population is as large as the Hindu, the proportion of Mohammedans to Hindus who hold Government appointments is less than one-seventh. The learned professions, which were formerly monopolised by Muslims, are now almost exclusively filled by Hindus."

The consequence of this deterioration of the Musalmans is that they have largely lost their influence over the thinking portion of the Hindus, and are becoming more and more objects of their contempt. The Government, apprehensive of the possible danger that may arise from the presence of so large a body of ignorant fanatical Moslems in India, has in recent years adopted a policy of humouring and nursing them. Children of Musalmans are now received into the schools on half fee; and special grants are made exclusively to Mohammedan institutions. Other things being equal, Mohammedans are preferred to Hindus in making Government appointments. The result of this questionable policy has not thus far been gratifying, and it is becoming a grave question with the British

Government how to retard the decay of this once highly favoured community.

Mohammedanism has had a splendid opportunity to show what it could do for India. For several centuries it had practically an open field, unhindered by any Western power. But it has miserably failed to regenerate the Hindus. Nor is there any likelihood that it will ever have any more power in India. It has done all that it could. Professor Monier Williams, speaking of Mohammedanism, says :—

“There is a finality and a want of elasticity about Mohammedanism which precludes its expanding beyond a certain fixed line of demarcation. Having once reached this line, it appears to lapse backwards—to tend toward mental and moral slavery, to contract within the narrower and narrower circles of bigotry and exclusiveness. But the Christian’s course is ever onwards, his movements are free ; he is ever tending towards wider reaches of comprehensiveness, tolerance, and charity. He is ever advancing towards a higher life, towards higher conditions of being, where he might find infinite scope for all that is most pure, most noble, and most spiritual in his nature.”

Even more valuable is the testimony of one who speaks from long personal experience among Mohammedan peoples, and whose witness is unbiassed. Mr. W. Gifford Palgrave, some time British Consul in the Philippines, observes—

“That the adoption of Islam may be, and in fact is, a real benefit and an uplifting to savage tribes, does not admit of a doubt. But no less does experience show that sooner or later the tribe, the nation, that casts its lot with Islam, is stricken as by a blight. Its freshness, its plasticity, disappear first ; then its vigour, then its reparative and reproductive power, and it petrifies or perishes.”

God be praised that only a comparatively small portion of the Hindus have cast in their lot with Islam, and that India, the jewel of the East, may sooner be won to adorn the Saviour’s diadem.

An attempt to reform Mohammedanism and adapt it to the modern spirit is now in progress in India. The movement centres about a Mohammedan College that has been established at Aligarh, in North India, and where the

chief instructors are English graduates of British universities. On the occasion of the late Durbar at Delhi, one of the patrons of the college, a learned Musalman, delivered an address in which he said :

"It was first the bad example of the moulvies ; second, the fatal system of modern Purdah, with its restrictions on the intellectual development of woman ; thirdly, the constant and silent withdrawal of the most pious and moral Moslems into a life of private prayer and devotion ; and, lastly, the doctrine of necessity that brought about our own downfall. I say it was, in my opinion, these four causes that brought Moslem society down to its present low and degrading level of intellect and character."

He then pleaded for the enlarged endowment of their college.

"We want Aligarh to be such a home of learning as to command the same respect of scholars as Berlin or Oxford, Leipsic or Paris. And we want those branches of learning relative to Islam which are fast falling into decay to be added by Moslem scholars to the stock of the world's knowledge. And, above all, we want to create for our people an intellectual and moral capital—a city which shall be the home of elevated ideas and pure ideals ; a centre from which light and guidance shall be diffused among the Moslems of India."

These are good sentiments ; but it must be remembered that orthodox Moslems do not regard these neo-Mohammedans as within the pale of true Islam, any more than strict Hindus consider the Brahma Somaj as representing Hinduism.

We bring this paper to a close by a brief reference to the results of missionary work among the Mohammedans of India. These have been greater than is commonly supposed. The Rev. Maulvi Imaduddin, D.D., a distinguished Mohammedan convert of North India, in a paper before the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, gives the names with brief biographies of no fewer than 117 men of position and influence who have become Christians, of whom 62 became clergy and leading men in many of the Indian Missions, and 51 are gentlemen occupying positions professional and official. Out of 956 baptisms in the Amritsar district of the Church Missionary Society, 152 were Mohammedan converts. In the Punjab there

are at least two congregations made up entirely of Mohammedans, while in Bengal there is a body of more than 6,000 Christians composed almost entirely of Mohammedan converts and their descendants, a large number having come over *en masse* some years ago. These last were converts in the first instance from Hinduism to Mohammedanism, and hence are not bound so strongly to Islam. Dr. Wherry, one of the oldest and most experienced missionaries among Mohammedans in India, says:—

“The Mohammedans of India are a hopeful class for missionary effort. Compared with the three high castes of Hinduism, I venture to assert that, so far as North India is concerned, and in proportion to the labour bestowed, five Moslems have been converted for every Hindu convert.”

If we turn to Dutch India, we find that in recent years there has been a remarkable turning of Mohammedans to Christianity. Dr. Callebanch, of the Netherlands Missionary Society, stated at the recent ecumenical conference that as the result of 57 years of missionary work in Java and other regions where Islam thrives, 22,300 Mohammedans had been won for Christ. And to this number, he says, must be added the converts of the Reformed Church of Holland, statistics of which are not available. Dr. Scriber, of the Rhenish Society, at the same time stated that in Sumatra between 3,000 and 4,000 converts had been won from Islam. And he adds: “We have very great hope that we shall win other thousands.”

We have been too apt to gauge the result of Missions among Mohammedans by the meagre returns that have come to us from Turkey. But we must remember that in the Turkish Empire it is a crime against the State for a Mohammedan to embrace another religion. In countries, however, where Islam is not fortified by the civil power, the Mohammedans are by no means a hopeless class for Christian workers, and as the political power of the Crescent wanes, which is now rapidly taking place, we expect to see a turning of the hosts of Islam to the banner of the Cross.

J. H. WYCKOFF.

THE WORK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AMONG THE MAORIES OF NEW ZEALAND.

IN order that the present state and circumstances of the Church amongst the Maories may be thoroughly understood, it is necessary to call to mind a few of the leading points in its past history. Early in the last century, in the year 1808, the mission was undertaken by the C.M.S. The Rev. Samuel Marsden, who was at that time Government Chaplain at Sydney, had come into contact with Maories visiting Sydney on whaling ships, and had entertained them at his home on the Parramatta. In 1808 Mr. Marsden visited England, and it was at his earnest request that the C.M.S. sent out missionaries, who accompanied him to Sydney in the year 1809. But owing to events that had taken place in New Zealand it was not until December 1814 that they could proceed to the Bay of Islands. On Christmas Day of that year a Christian sermon was preached for the first time in New Zealand. The missionaries were placed at Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands; Mr. Marsden returning to his duties in Sydney, but continuing to watch over the mission with a paternal interest, his seventh and last visit being paid in 1837.

The early years of the Mission were years of hardship for the workers, for at this time the people were bent on war, and their chief object in holding intercourse with European traders was that they might obtain firearms to use in their intertribal wars. Thus the Mission made slow progress, and it was not until September 1825 that the first baptism took place, and as late as 1832 there were not more than fifty converts. By this time the mission staff had considerably increased, and soon a great change took place in the attitude of the people towards Christianity. Slaves, who had been liberated through the influence of

the missionaries, on returning to their tribes, acted as pioneers of the new faith, and thus paved the way for the establishing of stations in many central places. The progress thus made was remarkably rapid, there being few of the people who had not shown themselves more or less favourable to the teaching of the missionaries, so that in 1842 Bishop Selwyn, the first Bishop appointed to New Zealand, was able to say in a sermon preached at Paihia, "We see here a whole nation of pagans converted to the Faith."

It need cause no surprise that the peculiar circumstances under which a British Colony was planted in these islands in 1840 gave rise at times to serious misunderstandings, as a result of which some of the natives rose up in arms against the Government. This was the case in the Bay of Islands in 1845, though a considerable number of the natives in that district sided with the Government, and rendered valuable assistance in the restoration of peace. A more serious conflict, however, was begun at Taranaki in 1860, the disaffection extending to other districts, owing to an impression on the minds of many of the people that the Government was bent on depriving them of their lands in contravention of the Treaty of Waitangi. Warlike operations were not discontinued till 1871, but the Colony could hardly be said to be absolutely at peace till the Act of Amnesty was passed by Parliament in 1883. The effect of this state of things on the work of the Church was disastrous in the extreme. Districts in which work had been carried on by missionaries for many years with much success, together with schools for the children, had to be altogether abandoned; and in some of them many years elapsed before the people were willing to tolerate the presence among them even of a missionary of their own race. At the present time it is estimated that about 6,000 are in a state of practical heathenism, while another 5,000 or 6,000 are content to satisfy their religious instincts by professing to worship Jehovah and making use of the Saviour's name, but without any attempt whatever to conform to Christian teaching. For many years the disaffected people had been visited by missionaries, but it was not till 1893 that Maori missionaries were able to carry on regular

and systematic work among them. Since that time the bitter feeling engendered by the war has in a great measure passed away, and the resident Maori missionaries have been courteously received; but the difficulty of winning them over to the obedience of faith has emphasised the need of vigorous work and of earnest prayer.

We have thus noticed briefly what have been the factors in the history of the Church's work which have led to her present position amongst the Maories, and how she has had her bright and her dark days. It remains to speak of the transfer of the work from the C.M.S. to the Church of the Province of New Zealand, and of the way in which it is proposed to carry on the work in the future. The C.M.S., having regard to the urgent calls coming from various parts of the non-Christian world, made preparation for withdrawing from the New Zealand Mission as far back as 1882. The New Zealand Mission Trust Board was then constituted, consisting of the Bishops of the North Island, *ex officio*, and one priest and one layman from each of the North Island dioceses. To this Board the Society made over what property it possessed in New Zealand, to be used for the furtherance of the work of the Mission, undertaking at the same time to make a gradually decreasing grant which was to cease at the end of twenty years, and to provide the salaries of such of the English missionaries as were then in the field so long as their services should be available.

The attention of Churchmen in New Zealand was called to the altered circumstances of the Mission, and in 1883 a resolution was passed by the General Synod in the following terms: "That this Synod calls upon the members of the Church throughout the Ecclesiastical Province to make special efforts for the recovery to the Faith of those persons of the Maori Church who, since the war, have lapsed into indifference or false religion." In 1891 "A Short Statement of the Circumstances and Needs of the New Zealand Mission" was printed by the Board and widely circulated. This statement contained an appeal for funds needed to enable the Board to place two native missionaries in the Waikato district, the C.M.S. having promised £100 a year extra for two years on condition that at least an equivalent

amount should be raised in New Zealand. The result of this appeal was that the Board was enabled to claim a very small proportion only of the £200 offered by the Society, and had it not been for a generous grant of £100 a year for five years made by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at the request of the Bishop of Auckland, towards the support of two native missionaries in the Waikato district, the work could have been carried on only under extreme difficulty.

In accordance with the arrangement made in 1882 the grant from the C.M.S. ceased at the end of 1903. Provision was then made for carrying on the work temporarily until the late session of the General Synod in January and February of the past year (1904). At this session the Synod fully recognised the responsibility of the Church of the Province of New Zealand for carrying on the work among the Maories, and a canon was enacted constituting a "Maori Mission Board," to consist of the Bishops in New Zealand and one priest and one layman to represent each diocese, "regard being had, in making these grants, to the numbers, circumstances, and religious condition of the Maori population, to the efficiency of the work done among them, and to endowments for Maori Mission purposes in each diocese."

The estimated expenditure of the Mission is about £4,900 per annum, of which the C.M.S. still provides £600 in stipends to white clergy who joined the Mission before the year 1882, and £1,400 will come from endowments in the different dioceses. This leaves £2,900 to be found annually to meet the present needs; but it is recognised that this amount will have to be increased to meet the growing needs of the Mission consequent upon the extension of the work in the several dioceses. During the last few years the contributions of the European members of the Church in New Zealand towards the work among the Maories have considerably increased, for while they totalled only £125 for the year 1898, for the year 1902 they had increased to £1,348. Still, it is a decided step forward that the Church in New Zealand is asked to take when she is made responsible for providing at least £2,900 per annum.

The New Zealand Mission Trust Board, called into existence in 1882, has not, of course, ceased to be. This Board still holds in trust the properties handed over to it by the C.M.S. The income from these properties amounts to about £900 per annum. This money is at present appropriated for the support of the Maori theological college at Gisborne, where all Maori candidates for the Ministry receive their theological education and training.

In this connection the question naturally arises as to what the Maories themselves are doing towards the support of the Church's work among them. It was mentioned above that £1,400 per annum come from endowments. These endowments consist of funds that have been, in great measure, contributed by the Maories themselves. The endowments in land and cash given by the Maories since 1850 for religious and educational purposes amount, according to present valuations, to about £100,000. In addition to this they have built churches in their main settlements; in one diocese alone there are over forty churches. Then, too, they alone defray all expenses for the repair and upkeep of the buildings, and the many incidental items that arise in parochial work. And now that they and the colonists alone are responsible for the financial support of the work, they are taking steps to raise funds towards helping to supply, not only the present stipends of their own clergy, which are now but £60 each per annum, but towards increasing that insufficient amount.

The distribution of the Maori population among the several dioceses is, in round numbers, as follows:—In Auckland, 20,000; in Waiapu, 14,500; in Wellington, 6,000; and in the three dioceses of the South Island altogether, 2,500. Of these it is estimated that there are members of the Church of the Province of New Zealand in the diocese of Auckland, 6,700; in Waiapu, 7,500; in Wellington, 3,500; making a total of 17,700. If we allow 9,500 for those who are in connection with other Missions, there is a balance left in the North Island of 13,300, including 2,500 in connection with Mormons. It will be seen that the far larger portion of the work lies in the three northern dioceses. In the southern dioceses the work is

carried on generally by the European priest of a parish in conjunction with his ordinary parochial work amongst the white people. But in the North Island, owing to the numbers and to the scattered positions of the Maories, the work is, to a large extent, carried on as a separate branch of the Church's activity—in parts, as ordinary parochial work, the priest of the parish being a Maori; and in other parts, where the advancement has not been great enough to warrant a parochial district being formed, as Mission-work, the missionaries too being Maori clergy. But whether the district be parochial or missionary, it is supervised by the white missionary acting under the Bishop of the diocese. The clergy now engaged in Maori work in the North Island number nearly fifty, seven of them being supervising white missionaries. All Maori clergy are members of the diocesan Synod, have the power to vote for members of the General Synod of the Province, and have, in fact, the same status as European priests of the diocese. For the purposes of regulating the internal arrangements and deciding matters peculiar to and affecting only the Maori branch of the Church, native Church Boards have been appointed in each diocese, of which the Bishop, supervising missionaries, native clergy, and elected lay representatives are the members, these Boards meeting annually. Each native Church Board District has the right to elect two laymen to represent it in the diocesan Synod.

The educational work of the Church, apart from that of the theological college at Gisborne, of which mention has already been made, is to be seen in schools that have been founded by the Church in the several dioceses of the North Island. Of these schools, which are mainly supported by endowments, and in some cases aided by the Government, four may be mentioned, two for boys and two for girls, in which a good secondary, religious, and to a certain extent, technical education is given, enabling the pupils to take a good position among their people, a number of the native clergy owing the greater part of their education to one or other of the boys' schools. Primary secular education in the native settlements is provided for very fully by the Government, and it is when they have passed out of these

schools that they are received into the higher schools. It is not within the province of this article to estimate the result, or to give a detailed account, of the work in these schools, and the influence they are having in moulding the life and institutions of the Maori people, beyond saying that that influence is great, and is an important factor in the elevating of the race.

We have tried thus to give, without entering into details, a bird's-eye view of the Church's work among this interesting people. In this, as in all missions, there is a bright and a dark side. If, on the one hand, we have to face a grave financial position, to deplore the evil that is being worked among a simple people by the influence and example of unprincipled white men, to wage continual war against death-dealing customs that again seek to take root amongst the people whom we are trying to lead into fuller light and wisdom ; if at times the heart of the worker is saddened by the slowness of some to apprehend the Truth, and by the active opposition of others ; yet, on the other hand, there is joy in the fact that a much greater interest is now being taken in the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Maori by the English Christians in New Zealand than has ever been taken before ; that many an individual and settlement bears witness to the power of God ; and there are not wanting signs that brighter days are dawning on the Church's work amongst the Maories.

H. A. HAWKINS.

A CHRISTIAN FAKIR.

- JUST outside the Taxali Gate, Lahore, and at a distance of only two or three hundred feet from the Royal Mosque, is a small garden thickly planted with trees and flowers and trailing vines and containing a tiny square building and several fakirs' huts. The square building has one room, perhaps fourteen feet by ten, and contains certain relics of Chet Rám, such as his bed and his Bible. In front of the building is a pole surmounted by a cross. Such are the monastic headquarters of the Chet Rámí sect in Lahore.

But first a few remarks as to the sources of information. They are largely oral. Nothing has been published by the sect, so far as I know. A few brief statements, however, have appeared in census and mission reports, and some material of value exists in manuscript. For the loan of manuscript material and for help in securing information I am greatly indebted to Rev. G. L. Thákur Dás, of the Punjab A. P. Mission, and to Mr. Fazl, of the Punjab Bible and Religious Book Society, Lahore. A good deal of information and all that which makes for vividness of impression has been gathered through personal intercourse with members of the Chet Rámí sect. Toward the end of December 1903, in company with Licentiate Yuhanna Khan, I visited Buchhoke, the central sanctuary of the sect, and since that time I have mingled freely with the Chet Rámí fakirs in Lahore. I am especially indebted to three Chet Rámis for information, to Mor Shah, the custodian of the tomb of Chet Rám at Buchhoke, to Munshi Nathu, draughtsman, the poet and theologian of the sect, and to Ghulam Mohammed, tutor, who is, so far as I know, the only member of the society who speaks English. Some account of the founder of the sect will now be given.

I.—THE MAN CHET RÁM.

Chet Rám, to whom his followers give the title of *Sàin*, i.e. Master, was born at Sharakpur, in the Lahore District. The date of his birth is not quite certain. The Census report for 1901 puts it "in or about the year 1835." He died June 9, 1894, at or about the age of sixty. By caste Chet Rám was an *Arora* and by religion a *Vaishnaví*. The Aroras are a caste of shopkeepers and moneylenders. Chet Rám's brother and eldest son still pursue the ancestral profession at Sharakpur. Chet Rám was not an educated man. He apparently knew only *lunde*, a kind of writing used by shopkeepers. In his *Vision of Christ* he pleads his unfitness for service on account of illiteracy.

The first important experience in the line of Chet Rám was as a camp-follower in the second English war with China, which began in the time of the Mutiny and was brought to a close by the forced ratification of the Treaty of *Tientsin* in 1860. Chet Rám was twenty-one or twenty-two years old when he went to China and he remained there two or three years. It is said that he began as water-carrier and was afterwards promoted to the post of steward. It is sufficient to say that he served as a menial in the Commissariat Department of the British Army in China.

On his return to India we see him next at Buchhoke, a large village ten or twelve miles from Sharakpur. Here his father-in-law, a wealthy shopkeeper, lived, and here Chet Rám met his *guru* Mahbúb Sháh. Up to this time Chet Rám was an idolater. The following account of how Chet Rám became the disciple of Máhbúb Sháh was taken down from the lips of Mor Shah, the keeper of the tombs of Chet Rám and Mahbúb Sháh at Buchhoke:—

"Mahbúb Sháh was wandering hither and thither in an abstracted or intoxicated state. Chet Rám had a shop in Buchhoke for selling opium and liquor. Mahbúb Sháh used to come to this village from time to time; and when he passed by Chet Rám used to offer him something in the way of opium, charas, or sharáb. This went on for some time. Finally one day Chet Rám took a bottle of strong drink and went to the place where Mahbúb Sháh was stopping. It was night and he gave some of the liquor to Mahbúb Sháh. Soon after this Mahbúb Sháh, when he was

in a drunken state, said : ' Fetch me a virgin dish,' *i.e.*, a dish never before used. So they brought him a clay pot (*tind*). Mahbúb Sháh broke the upper portion, and the remaining part he filled with the remainder of the wine which Chet Rám had given him. This Chet Rám drank. From that day Chet Rám abandoned everything and became the disciple of Mahbúb Sháh."

Mahbúb Sháh lived till three or four years after this encounter. During this time Chet Rám devoted himself entirely to this *guru* Mahbúb Sháh and followed him everywhere. From all accounts Mahbúb Sháh was a *Jaláli* fakir belonging to the *Chishti* sect or community of Moham-medans. The members of the Chishti order of Moham-medan fakirs are "much given to singing and are generally Shiah. They worship by leaping up and gesticulating and repeating the name of God, till they work themselves into a frenzy and at last sink down."¹ Mahbúb Sháh bore the title Saiyid, and was born at Moch, in Dera Ismail Khan. It is said that he never begged, and that he was accustomed always to smack his lips, as if he were kissing something, no one knows what. Two or three miracles are ascribed to Mahbúb Sháh, but none, so far as I know, to Chet Rám. Mahbúb Sháh died near Buchhoke, and was buried, according to report, in a vault near the Ravi River. The disciples of Chet Rám tell the gruesome story that for three years Chet Rám slept every night within the vault close by the bones of his spiritual guide.

It was during this period that Chet Rám had his vision of Christ. According to the first two lines of the Panjabi poem in which the vision is described, Chet Rám was sleeping *upon* the grave, not within the grave, of his *guru*. Munshi Nathu says he had come out of the vault into the open, but of this there is no mention in the poem. That Chet Rám slept on or near the grave of his *guru* for a longer or shorter period is perfectly credible, and doubtless this is the germ out of which has grown the tradition that he slept by the bones of Mahbúb Sháh.

The Panjabi poem, of which the vision of Christ forms a section, is ascribed to Chet Rám, but it has been more or less interpolated. There is here subjoined a translation

¹ *Vide* Report on the Census of the Panjab, 1881, Vol. i. p. 287.

of the vision, made by Rev. G. L. Thákur Dás, of Lahore :—

Upon the grave of Master Mahbúb Sháh
Slept Sàín Chet Rám.

O dear (*reader*) it was midnight,
Full moon, stars were as hanging lamps ;

Unique was that night surpassing the *shab qadr*,
Rays were falling from the full moon.

There appeared a man
Whose description is without bounds ;

A man came in a glorious form
Showing the face of mercy ;

His countenance beautiful as the full moon
No man could look at that beauty ;

Glorious form, tall in stature and erect,
Appeared as if a clear mystery of the Deity.

Sweet was his speech, and simple his face,
Appearing entirely as the image of God.

Such a glory was never seen before,
The coming of the Lord Himself was recognised in it.

He called aloud, " Who sleeps there ?
Awake, if thou art sleeping.

Thou art distinctly fortunate,
Thou art needed in the Master's presence."

Then answered Sàín Chet Rám,
" Who art thou, what is thy name ? "

Then spake the mysterious divine appearance,
" Rise, come, and I will tell thee, brother."

He moved two or three steps forward,
Then turned and stood by him.

" Hear these words, O Chet Rám,
Do this one thing, O *Sundar Shám* (Epithet of Krishna),

Build a church on this very spot,
Place the Bible therein."

Then answered Chet Rám,
" I will carry out thy unique command ;

But I am illiterate, cannot read,
How shall I distinguish Arabic and Urdu ? "

Then said that luminous form,
 Jesus, the image of Mary,
 "Place within the church a Bible,
 Then shalt thou see strange things with thine eyes ;
 The learned shall come themselves,
 And kiss thy feet.
 I shall do justice in earth and heaven,
 And reveal the hidden mysteries."
 Having said these things, the Spirit
 Disappeared on that very spot.
 Astonished there alone I stood,
 As if a parrot had flown out of my hands.
 Afterwards I began to think,
 What was all this which Omnipotence did ?
 Then my soul realised
 That Jesus came to give salvation.
 Day by day His love increased towards me,
 And people came to salute me.
 I realised that it was Jesus God
 Who appeared in a bodily form.

It is clear from the foregoing account that the experience described in poetical form was a *dream* or trance. Munshi Nathu, however, denies this and claims absolute objectivity for the experience. The figure described in the vision is the figure of the glorified Christ, who draws near to the sleeper, bids him awake, and gives him the command to build a church on that very spot and place the Bible therein. If he is obedient to this command, the promise is given him that he shall see "strange things," namely, the learned coming and kissing his feet. When Chet Rám came to himself, he realised that it was "Jesus God" who had appeared in bodily form and that Jesus came to "give salvation."

It is quite likely that Mahbúb Sháh had a good deal to say to his disciple about Christ. In support of this conjecture I may cite the testimony of Licentiate Yuhanna Khan, who accompanied me to Buchhoke. He said that his father Ghulám Ghaus, formerly a Mohammedan of the Hosyarpur District, first learned about Christ from a

Mohammedan fakir. Facts about Christ gained from Mahbúb Sháh, and possibly to some extent from intercourse with Christian soldiers in the Chinese war, furnished the materials for the vision. Psychologically we must assume, I think, that before Chet Rám had his vision Christ had become for him an object of reflection and of profound interest. The dream or vision, or whatever it was, added just the supernatural touch which was needed to convert interest into faith, for from the date of his vision Chet Rám became, in his own way, a believer in Christ. From that day he began to gather disciples in the name of Christ. The date of Chet Rám's vision must be placed somewhere between 1860 and 1865. The interesting thing is that the Mohammedan fakir Mahbúb Sháh consciously or unconsciously played the part of a John the Baptist in pointing his disciple to Jesus the Christ. Thus a Hindu shopkeeper became the disciple of a Mohammedan fakir, and out of this fellowship between *guru* and *chela* was born a purely indigenous Christian movement in the Panjab.

The earliest account of Chet Rám known to me is found in the report of the Lahore Station of the Lodiana Mission¹ Rev. C. W. Forman, D.D., has the following things to say about "Chet Rám and his followers" :—

"One Sabbath morning Chet Rám and some of his disciples came to my compound. One of them had been wounded by a boy for saying Christ was Lord. It was touching to see how subdued and quiet they all were, and how much they sympathised with the wounded man, whose head was still bleeding. But it was to his leader he looked chiefly for comfort, who manifested the greatest tenderness towards him. Some of his followers were formerly Hindus and some Muhammadans, but now they agree in acknowledging Christ as Lord and Saviour ; and, so far as we can see, they look for nothing in this world for confessing Him, except persecution, which they bear cheerfully."

To the foregoing account Rev. C. B. Newton appends some "Additional Statements" as follows :—

"Some interest having been awakened by Chet Rám and his disciples, and certain erroneous notions and exaggerations being prevalent, it may be worth while to give a few impressions I

¹ Panjab A. P. Mission for the year 1879, pp. 22-26.

received in regard to them during a rather intimate acquaintance of several weeks.

"Chet Rám, with a number of his disciples, came to Lahore last September, and created a stir in the city by proclaiming himself a Christian. On Friday, the 13th of that month, he called on me with sixteen of his disciples, an extraordinary looking set of men. They were stalwart well-fed fellows, with a minimum of clothing, and having faces variously expressing the ferocity of brigands, the frenzy of madmen, and the vacancy of idiots.

"Chet Rám himself is a somewhat elderly man (about forty-five years old), of rather pleasing features and serious demeanour. Occasionally, however, he gives way to a sort of excitement or frenzy, which his disciples regard as an indication of divine inspiration, and it seems probable that he regards it so too.

"The above description does not apply to all. There are a few men of respectable appearance and sensible behaviour among them. One of these has established himself at a place, on the Firozpúr road, beyond *Kánd-Kash*, where he has dedicated a *chárpdì* (bed) to Christ, and where he gives travellers a night's lodging in the name and for the honour of the Saviour.

"Most of the disciples of Chet Rám, numbering about fifty, as it is currently reported, profess, like himself, to believe in Christ; but their ideas of Christ and Christianity are crude and vague, some of them asserting that Chet Rám is himself Christ.

"On the occasion referred to, when Chet Rám and his sixteen savages called on me, I read to them, at their own request, a portion of Scripture, and arranged a visit to Buchhoke, some thirty miles distant, on the right bank of the Rávi, which is their headquarters, and where they have built a 'church.'

"A few days later we started, and visited several villages on the way. At one of these, Faizpur, Chet Rám got a beating from the Muhammadan inhabitants for praising Christ. He took it meekly. At Nawán Kot a man who had long been ill came to be treated. Chet Rám tore a rag off his clothes, and gave it to the man, and told him it was given in the name of Christ, who would heal him. The sick man tied it up carefully in the corner of his turban, and went away satisfied. This was repeated on several occasions; but finally, at my suggestion, he gave up the practice of distributing rags, telling his patients that Jesus would cure them, not the rag. Several of Chet Rám's adherents visited him on the way, and he blessed them in the name of Christ. One gave him a rupee, which he made over to me at once; this occurred on several occasions.

"At Buchhoke I remained several days with Chet Rám at his *takyá*, hanging up my hammock under one of his trees. The church he has built is a very unpretentious structure of mud, about

6 feet by 9 inside and 7 feet high. He had a row of tracts tacked to the wall, a handsomely bound English Bible tied up in a cloth, and suspended by a hook from the roof. This Bible he subsequently sent as a present to Sir Robert Egerton, the Lieutenant-Governor, by mail, because, as he said, he feared it might meet with harm in the midst of a hostile population, since he is himself absent wandering about the country a great part of the time.

"During my stay I had an opportunity of observing Chet Rám's conduct and character; and certainly the case is a remarkable one, though the good in him is so obscured by superstition and ignorance that one can scarcely call his case a very hopeful one. He manifests on all occasions a strong feeling of love and reverence for Christ, and undergoes persecution and contumely for His name. His treatment of others is marked by a spirit of rare kindness and generosity. One day a fakir, a total stranger, from some distant place, came to the *takyá*, and told a story of his sufferings, having been robbed of some article of clothing. Chet Rám at once pulled off his own principal garment, and gave it to him. He never refuses appeals of this kind. A man, who was a confirmed opium eater, came one day and asked him for money to buy opium with. He replied that he had no money, but offered him a Korán to pawn.

"He tells his disciples that they may drink spirituous liquor, but only in moderation. He exhibits so many amiable traits that one cannot help liking him; but, on the other hand, he is ignorant, and shows no desire to learn. He likes to hear the New Testament read (not being able to read himself), but says that he does not need instruction from the written word, having it directly from the Holy Spirit and the Twelve Apostles. One day he told me he thought he would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and see the tomb of the Virgin Mary. I suggested that he might have some difficulty in finding it after arriving there. He replied with the utmost composure that there could be no difficulty on this score, as the Twelve Apostles would guide him to the very spot.

"On the whole I feel that we ought by all means to look after these men and try to bring them more out into the light. Seven of them applied for baptism at the end of December, but we advised them to wait, and learn more of the Gospel before making a public profession of faith."

So wrote Dr. C. B. Newton in 1879.

The next account of the Chet Ráms is contained in the Lodiana Mission Report for the year 1888, pp. 10, 11:—

"This neighbourhood (*i.e.* Raiwind, Kamas, Rajá Jhang, and Sharakpúr) has been selected for work, chiefly on account of a

Hence his bones and the few remaining bones of Chet Rám were transferred to another place not too near the river bank. Here they were placed in two large coffin-like boxes, which constitute the chief furniture of the present central sanctuary at Buchhoke. The spot at *Rakh Madho Dás*, which Mr. Baring tried to buy from Government, was designated by Chet Rám himself as the site of a future Chet Rámí town to be known as *Isapuri*. There the bones and ashes of the two leaders of the sect are to receive their final resting-place.

Chet Rám appointed his daughter *Budhán Bibi* to be his successor and the head of the sect, although his eldest son *Hirá Lál* is still alive. Thus, like the Christian Science Church, the Chet Rámí sect is a sect with a female head. The woman *Budhán* is called by her followers "*Bibt Ji*" and "*Mái Ji*" out of respect. She is a nun, being pledged to life-long celibacy. She is an illiterate woman, although lately, through the efforts of Mrs. Datta, Miss Bose, and others, she has learned to read the Panjabi character.

THE DOCTRINE OF CHET RÁM.

The official creed of the Chet Rámí sect reads as follows : "*Isá Ibn-i-Mariam, Ruh-ul-Quds Khudáwánd God Gadaria kí duháí, páth Bible wà Injíl bábat mukti wà naját.—Dastkhatt Chet Rámíán.*" Which means, being translated, "Help, O Jesus, Son of Mary, Holy Spirit, Lord God Shepherd. Read the Bible and the Gospels for salvation.—Signed by Chet Rám and the followers." Thus the creed contains an appeal to God for help and an injunction to men to read the Bible.

There are some variations in the Chet Rámí confession of faith as seen in different places, but the substance is the same. The form of the creed here given was taken from a tablet over the door of S. Chet Rám's cell at the head-quarters of the sect in Lahore. The Chet Rámís frequently carry a long rod surmounted by a cross. The front portion of the horizontal wood of the cross is inscribed, as a rule, with the confession of faith. The creed is used practically as a kind of *mantra* or charm. Yet in the creed there is the recognition of (*a*) the Holy Trinity, consisting of Jesus the Son of

Mary, the Holy Spirit, and God, (*b*) the Bible as the word of God, and (*c*) salvation (*mukti wá naját'*) as mediated through the Holy Trinity and made known through the Gospel. There is a large emphasis in theory, but probably not much in practice, upon the reading (*ṣāth*) of the Bible. I made some inquiries as to the origin of the creed. Munshi Nathu declared that it came from S. Mahbúb Sháh after his death. If this be a correct statement, we may infer that Chet Rám, after his vision of Christ, prepared this brief creed for his disciples out of the things he had heard concerning Christ from the lips of his *guru* Mahbúb Sháh.

The theology of the Chet Rámí sect is found in the Hymn of Chet Rám, a Panjábí poem containing in its original form about one hundred lines and in its interpolated form some five hundred lines. The interpolated portions are the work of Munshi Nathu, who has already been called "the poet and theologian" of the sect. I have not worked through the whole poem. *The Vision of Christ*, which is one section of the poem, has already been given. I here subjoin a metrical version of lines 1-25, 36-43 of the original version of the poem. The metre follows the original, but the translation is without rhyme :—

Let me celebrate God's praises
Boundless, filling earth and heaven.
All the world hath He created ;
Why? that all His *name* might cherish.
From the Name the name was fashioned ;
From the name the Name discovered.
From the Name charm, spell, enchantment
Everywhere the name embodied.
From the name is known the great Name,
Who of all life is the Giver.
From the Name spirit-world see,
Birth and death in close succession.
From the Name came into being
Whatsoever God created.
From the Name love was begotten,
From the Name throat-cutting hatred.
Through God's *love* man's form was moulded,
And within was placed man's spirit.

Through love came the high and lowly,
Through love both to God are pleasing.

Through love heaven was exalted,
Through love dust of earth was favoured.

Through love all good things were given,
Holy men, seers, prophets, sages.

Devi Devatà were given,
Through love, also men and demons.

Through love see the world of spirits,
Through love Christ Himself was given.

Brother, whom men know as *Jesus*,
None can fully tell His greatness.

Christ creator and enjoyer,
In all ages omnipresent.

Age by age each incarnation
Is the handiwork of Jesus.

All who came as men prophetic,
Jesus sent and then recalled them.

Jesus know to be the true God ;
Heavens and earth are of His splendour.

Know the world as God's world, brother ;
And this realm the Empress mother's.

This is Chetà Rám's announcement,
That all men shall be united ;

He who pointed out a hard path,
He who harmonised religions ;

He who loved a heavy burden,
He who showed salvation's gateway.

The Death-angel's host is marching,
Chetà Rám hath freed men from it.

He it is who entering *Kal Yug*
Made it seem like unto *Sat Yug*.

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Worldliness forsake, O people,
Do the service of Christ Jesus.

With the mouth say Jesus, Jesus ;
Read the Bible with the Gospels.

Build a church in every village,
Sing your songs in every village.

Men and women both assemble
In the church to sing God's praises.

Christ except there is no refuge
In this world or in the next world.

Jesus can the soul deliver ;
But without faith no salvation.

When Christ sitteth in the judgment,
None can say a word before Him.

Ever hold this truth with firmness,
Mary's Son is our foundation.

In the preparation of the brief account of the Chet Rámí theology now to be given I have been greatly aided by Rev. G. L. Thákur Dás. The following sketch is based on his translation of selected portions of the Hymn and upon such information as I have been able to gather by word of mouth. The genesis of the sect has been described. A Hindú *bania* becomes the disciple of a Mohamadan *fakir*, and out of their fellowship is produced an indigenous Christian sect. The theology of a sect having such an origin is almost bound to be a *syncretism* of various elements, some of them derived from Hindúism, some from Islám, and some from Christianity. And such we find to be the case. In this respect the Chet Rámí sect resembles the ancient Gnosticism.

The Chet Rámí sect holds a double doctrine of the Trinity. There is the Christian Trinity consisting of Jesus the Son of Mary, the Holy Spirit, and God, which is found in the Chet Rámí creed. There is also what might be called a Hindú trinity consisting of *Alláh*, *Parameshwar*, and *Khudá*. *Alláh* is the Creator, *Parameshwar* the Preserver, and *Khudá* the Destroyer. This idea is, of course, based upon the Hindú doctrine of Brahmà, Vishnu, and Shiva as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer respectively. The three potencies of the universe, namely, *Alláh*, *Parameshwar*, and *Khudá*, have their counterpart in the human body, which from this point of view is a kind of microcosmos. There is a generative part corresponding to *Alláh*,

a nourishing part (the breast) corresponding to *Parameshwar*, and a destroying part (the head) corresponding to *Khuddá*. It is difficult to see how the head can be called the destroying part. I asked Munshi Nathu about it, and he replied that if you wish to destroy a man you take him by the neck. One must not look for very much consistency in these speculations.

It is through the distinctively Chet Rámí trinity, represented by *Alláh*, *Parameshwar*, and *Khuddá*, that the philosophy of the supremacy of Jesus is developed. Let me quote from Rev. G. L. Thákur Dás's translation of selected portions of the Hymn: "*Alláh* is the generator of all, both good and evil. Mohammed worshipped *Alláh*, and yet he died. By worshipping *Alláh* he made a famous figure in the two worlds. He was allowed a journey to heaven, and received his share from *Alláh*, and was called the friend of *Alláh*. A Musalman is the slave of the name of one *Alláh* alone. *Parameshwar* is *Rabb*—Protector and Nourisher. Vishnu, Brahmá, and Shiva boast of *Parameshwar*. *Parameshwar* is love, and loves all. The Hindús know only one *Parameshwar* and worship him alone. *Khuddá* is Jesus, and He is the Destroyer. The two names (*Alláh* and *Parameshwar*) have had their worship. Now is the time for the worship of *Khuddá* (*i.e.* Christ). It is His turn now to receive adoration from the whole world. His name shall be carried over the whole earth—into every *mandir* and into every *masjid*. *Alláh* and *Parameshwar* came one after the other, but the real object is realised from one *Khuddá*. From *That* (*i.e.* God) is *This* (*i.e.* Jesus), and from *This* is *That*. He shall proclaim His own name, and the heaven and earth shall worship Him. Being God, He was called the servant of God, while in bodily form. Jesus is the only true fakir. Jesus is the true God. As such He is the Giver of all gifts. All the Mohammedan prophets and saints and the Hindú gods and incarnations were sent by Jesus. He is the Lord of the *four Yugas* and the Supreme Ruler over all. He has been authorised to enforce upon all people the worship of God. He is the Son of God. The Father and the Son are of one nature."

On this Mr. Thákur Dás further remarks: "The

object of this theology is to show that Jesus God is mightier than *Alláh* or *Parameshwar*. Whatever they did He can undo ; but they cannot restore what He destroys ; and He destroys and will destroy everyone who does not believe and follow Him. Sickness, pestilence, and death are the armies of Jesus, who as the Destroyer is also called 'the Angel of Death.' These armies He sends into the world against the unbelievers. The Chet Rámís regard themselves as the true preachers of Christ, and it is they who know the truth as it is in Jesus."

So much for the Chet Rámí doctrine of Christ. What position do they assign to Chet Rám? Different answers are given to this question. Munshi Nathu said : "He is the one through whom we become acquainted with the Lord." Another said, "Chet Rám is not dead but is present and works now in the hearts of his followers." Note the doctrine of the indwelling of Chet Rám. S. Mor Sháh, the custodian of the tombs at Buchhoke, in answer to the question, "How do the Chet Rámís regard S. Chet Rám?" replied : "We regard him as God. He is everything to us." In harmony with this Rev. G. L. Thákur Dás writes :—

"They consider Chet Rám as Christ Himself and claim to have seen Christ in seeing Chet Rám. It is their veneration for Chet Rám's name which keeps them from joining the Christian Church. They praise Chet Rám as much as they praise Christ."

In the Chet Rámí creed there is mention of the reading of the Bible *and* the Gospels, as if they were mutually exclusive. I inquired of Munshi Nathu the reason of this. His answer was : "*Injil Ráh-ul-Quds ki marifat dt gat tht ; Bible marifat bimari aur firishton ke ;*" i.e., The Gospel was given through the mediun of the Holy Spirit ; the Bible through the medium of disease and angels (whatever that may mean). This is sufficient to exemplify the queer jumble of ideas which is found in the Chet Rámí theology.

THE SOCIETY OF CHET RÁM.

Under this head will be given whatever information has been acquired concerning the religious worship, public gatherings, methods of propagation, statistics, and future prospects of the Chet Rámí society.

Some form of baptism seems to be the rite of initiation into the sect. They distinguish between internal and external baptism. "They have, they say, received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and need not the baptism of water, which is simply a human ceremony and an external rite."¹ One old fakír told me that there are four kinds of baptism—baptism with water, with earth, with air, and with fire. The internal or essential baptism is the baptism of the Spirit. But the baptism of the Spirit is equated with the baptism of the Word, and this is described by Munshi Nathu as follows: "When a child is born, then the creed is recited in the ears of the child, and also the names of the Twelve Disciples of Christ." Among the external forms of baptism one of the most interesting is the *earth-baptism*. It takes place whenever a lay member of the sect tears off his clothes, casts dust upon his head, and becomes a Chet Rámí monk. It is the baptism which marks the renunciation of the world. I asked Ghulám Mohammed tutor how he was received into the Chet Rámí church. He replied, "I was baptized by Chet Rám, who poured water on my head, and said to me 'You have been baptized with water and with fire.' He blessed me and declared me converted." It is difficult to form from these statements a consistent picture of the Chet Rámí theory and practice in the matter of baptism. Quite likely there is no settled theory or practice.

The followers of Chet Rám are divided into two classes—*monks* who are celibates and *lay members* who are householders. The monks get their living by begging, the householders follow their own professions. The monks are the clergy of the sect. It is their business to preach the Chet Rámí gospel. It is the theory "that forty persons are always to subsist upon alms and preach the teaching of Chet Rám."² These are called *chelas* or disciples in the narrow sense. The Chet Rámí fakírs, like all fakírs in India, are more or less addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, such as bhang, charas, opium, &c. Munshi Nathu defends them in this, on the ground that in the cold weather it is only through the use of stimulants

¹ Quoted from Rev. G. L. Thákur Dás.

² Panjab Census Report for 1901, Vol. xvii. p. 117.

that the monks can protect themselves from disease and cold. He claims that it is not a matter of self-indulgence on their part.

It is very difficult to find out the real strength of the Chet Rámí society. There is nothing in the Census Reports as regards numbers, except in the 1901 Report,¹ where we read that "the number of Chet Rám's followers is increasing day by day." Mor Sháh said that the total number, including monks and laymen, during the life of Chet Rám, amounted to 5,000. My impression is that the number represented by 40 monks and 5,000 lay members has become, as it were, a stereotyped and traditional number in the thought of the Chet Rámí society. Gulám Muhammad, the tutor, mentioned 15,000 as the probable numerical strength of the society at present. But this is a wild conjecture. Munshi Nathu's estimate that there are "less than one thousand Chet Rámís in the whole Panjab" may be taken as a sober statement, which is sufficiently near the truth. If we reckon in adherents and sympathisers, the number might rise to four or five thousand. It is doubtful if the Census Report be correct in saying that the sect is increasing day by day. I got an opposite impression from my intercourse with the Chet Rámí fakírs. Even Ghulám Muhammad, who clearly loves large figures, admits that there has been a "decline in number every day since Chet Rám died." Insult, persecution, and want of support for the monks are assigned as the reason for the lack of growth. As Ghulám Muhammad said to me, "We wish Government protection from insult and persecution. We are persecuted by both Hindús and Mohammedans on account of following Christ. People in the city hate us. And Christians have no affection for us. There is no person now who can take the place of Chet Rám. Neither the Church nor the Government has helped us. When the fakírs are supported properly and have no anxiety about their food, then things will go forward. Now they have to beg from their antagonists." It is undoubtedly true that some of the Chet Rámí fakírs, when begging from Hindús and Mohammedans, manifest a lack of straightforwardness. Thus S. Mor Sháh admitted that "when a fakír begs of a

¹ Panjab Census Report for 1901, Vol. xvii. p. 117.

Hindú he says, 'In the name of *Rám*, or of *Parameshwar*, or of *Bhagván*, give me something'; and in like manner, when he begs of a Mohammedan he says, 'In the name of Alláh and Mohammed, give to me.'

The members of the Chet Rámí community are found chiefly in the Lahore, Ferozpore, Amritsar, Gurdáspúr, and Montgomery districts. They are recruited largely from the poor classes. The great majority of them are illiterate. They come from both the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities. They are received from all castes, *churas*, *chamars*, *sansis*, &c. It appears that Chet Rám had the dream of harmonising all religions and bringing their adherents into one fold. Caste is observed in the Chet Rámí society in the sense that each caste of converts has its food separately. Thus "Hindu converts do not mix with Mohammedan converts and caste prejudices remain untouched."¹

There does not seem to be any fixed form of worship among the Chet Rámís. One old fakír declared that for the enlightened there is no need of religious worship. "We have received," said he; "worship is for those who have not received." I invited Munshi Nathu to attend our Church services in Lahore. He proceeded to tell me that all such worship is man-made worship. I have spent many hours at the Chet Rámí *Khānqáh* in Lahore conversing with Munshi Nathu. He said to me on one occasion, "This conversation of ours is worship: no other worship is needed." All Chet Rámís are supposed to own a Bible, and the few who can read doubtless read it. Ghulám Muhammad one day said to me, "I read the Bible every day and especially on the Sabbath. I was just reading the first chapter of John's Gospel when you arrived." The Chet Rámí creed is repeated as an act of worship, and the Hymn of Chet Rám is chanted. There are some forms of worship which show decidedly the influence of Hinduism and Mohammedanism. At the *Khānqáh* in Lahore are preserved with great care certain relics of Chet Rám. At evening lighted lamps are placed before the cross and the Bible. On one occasion I noticed the evening worship of two Chet Rámí women. They came and bowed themselves to the ground first before the cross

¹ Panjab Census Report, 1901, Vol. xvii. p. 117.

and then before the Bible, and so went their way. A considerable use is made of amulets. Charms are made and inscribed with the Chet Rámí Creed and with the names of the Twelve Apostles, and hung about the neck. The treatment of the sick is peculiar. The number 5532, which represents the Creed according to the numerical value assigned to each letter of the Persian alphabet, is written on paper and tied to the arms of the sick person or else made into a pill and swallowed. Another mode of procedure is to utter the name of God and then blow into the face of the sick.

The central sanctuary at Buchhoke is really a relic chamber. At a visit made to Buchhoke in December 1903 I wrote the following account: "Soon after our arrival we were taken into the *Samádih* or Mausoleum; there we saw two large wooden boxes, one of which contained the bones or ashes of S. Chet Rám and the other the bones of his *guru* Mahbúb Sháh. Within the sanctuary I saw several copies of the Gurmukhi New Testament and one complete Urdu Bible. In one corner there was something which looked like a pulpit-desk. The two coffin-like boxes were covered with figured cloth, on which was stamped in Persian characters the Chet Rámí Creed. At evening a *chiragh* was placed in the building before the boxes after the manner of Mohammedan saint-worship. Just at dusk two Chet Rámís arrived to attend the *mela*. They prostrated themselves before the door of the sanctuary with their faces to the ground, and repeated the prostration twice or thrice. One of them deposited an offering of a rupee on the threshold. The *central sanctuary* of the Chet Rámí sect is a small *kachcha* building about 15 feet square and 10 feet high. It has a flat roof approached by a ladder. There are four doors, one on each of the four sides, and each only about 4 feet high. Each door is intended for a separate class. One is called the *fakiri* door, another the Hindu door, the third the Christian door, and the fourth the Mohammedan door. Perhaps this is a symbolical representation of four ways of approach to the Chet Rámí religion. In connection with the central sanctuary there seems to be a great deal of fetichism, relic-worship, bibliolatry, and saint-worship."

Three *melas* a year are held at Buchhoke : one on the 18th *Pus* (about January 1st) in memory of Mahbúb Sháh's death, the second on the 29th *Jeth* (May or June) in memory of Chet Rám's death, and the third on the 18th *Sawan* (July–August) in memory of Malang Shah, who was a friend of Mahbúb Sháh. I inquired into the way in which these *melas* are financed, and learned thereby the Chet Rámí method of *self-support*. Something is gathered by the fakírs of this place by begging. Some of those who attend the *melas* bring offerings of money, one giving 1s., another 2s., another 10s., &c. Those who live in the neighbouring villages bring flour, rice, &c. Any part of the expenses not made good from these sources of income is made up from the produce of the Chet Rámí land at Buchhoke.

I was interested to learn what different disciples of Chet Rám saw in him to attract them and to win their faith. I asked Ghulám Mohammed tutor the question, "How did you become a disciple of Chet Rám?" He answered, "I was desirous of knowing about Christ. I met Sain Chet Rám here in the city near this place. I was about eighteen years old when converted to the Chet Rámí faith. I saw Chet Rám only once before becoming his disciple. I became a converted man on the very first day. My faith in the teaching of Chet Rám is just as strong as ever. In fact, it is increasing day by day. His was a bold and good life." Question : "What was it in Chet Rám which impressed you?" Answer : "Truth." "Was there anything in Chet Rám's personality that attracted you?" Answer : "Decorum." I asked Munshi Nathu what he saw in Chet Rám to attract him. His answer was : "Love."

So much, then, for the diagnosis of the conditions, both favourable and unfavourable, which pertain to Chet Rám and his society. Among the things which were commendable in Chet Rám's character were his kindness toward all men, his sincerity of purpose, and his readiness to suffer persecution for the name of Christ. These traits are found in his disciples. During my visit to Buchhoke I was deeply impressed with the simple kindness and gracious hospitality with which I was received. The Chet Rámí belief that Christ is divine and that the Bible is the Word of God

furnishes a unique vantage ground for the one who seeks to lead them into fuller light. They allow Christians to hold services for them and with them. Anyone who takes the name of Jesus can lead them in worship. They gladly welcome visits from Christians. Thus, of the older missionaries, Messrs. Forman and Newton and Mr. Bateman visited them at Buchhoke, and Mr. Baring sought to purchase for them a tract of land from Government. Many Bibles have been distributed among them. As already stated, the person of Chet Rám tends to obtrude itself into the place of the person of Christ. But the Chet Rámí Creed furnishes a most effective instrument against this tendency. The following questions may be asked with much effect. Whose name is in the Creed, Chet Rám's or Christ's? Whose Cross is carried, Chet Rám's or Christ's? Who died for the sins of the world, Chet Rám or Christ? Only one answer is possible from them as from us.

On the other hand, it is true that there are many unfavourable symptoms in the character of Chet Rám and in the character of his society. He was densely ignorant and he knew it not; and he had little or no desire for enlightenment. He claimed to know it all. Furthermore, he was given to an unwholesome use of intoxicating drugs and liquors. Christian phraseology like "the baptism of the Spirit," &c., was used with little or no conception of its real meaning. The Bible was worshipped very much as the *Granth Sáhib* is worshipped by the Sikhs. These things have descended by inheritance to his society. Hence, in spite of the points of contact between the Chet Rámí belief and the Christian belief, it is probably true that the Chet Rámí people are less open to the influence of the pure Gospel than many other communities. With them, as with many others, the good is the enemy of the best.

A few reflections may be appended at the close of this paper :—

(1) The Chet Rámí movement illustrates the *ferment* which is taking place on all sides in the religious thought of India. The almost daily birth of new creeds and new forms of religion is a proof that the heart of the Indian people is *unsatisfied*. Surely Augustine's sentence is

applicable to India: "O God, Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee." On all sides there is manifested a kind of blind and semi-conscious *groping and feeling after God*.

(2) The history of the Chet Rámí church illustrates afresh the Hindi proverb, *Jaisá guru waisá chelá*; i.e. As is the master, so is the disciple. Chet Rám has passed away, but his society is stamped with his characteristics, both good and bad. This fact yields an important lesson for all missionary servants of God. The law of natural fatherhood is also the law of spiritual fatherhood—namely, that like propagates like. A selfish and easy-going and secularised missionary will produce a crop of converts stamped with the same characteristics as are found in himself. If we wish to see the spectacle of whole-hearted dedication to the service of Christ in the Indian Church, let us first of all dedicate ourselves. If we long to see a spirit of prayer manifested in the Indian Church, let us remember that such a spirit of prayer will be communicated not by precept but by *example*. If we yearn to see the Spirit of God working with might in the Indian Church, let us first of all give the Spirit right of way in our own hearts and lives.

H. D. GRISWOLD.

THE EFFECT OF FOREIGN MISSIONS UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

ONE of the most striking results of Foreign Missions in the past has been the effect which they have had upon our comprehension of the Christian Faith. It is of fundamental importance to remember that "the Faith once delivered" is potentially infinite in meaning. It is, for instance, something far greater than the formulæ, whether of Creed or Article, which give it such expression as human language admits of. A dogmatic statement, after all, can only be a partial adumbration of a transcendental truth. But though the truth itself is infinite, and though no human attempt to express the truth can be other than an approximation, yet, through the continuous work of the Holy Spirit in the Church, the Christian consciousness is ever moving towards a fuller and deeper understanding of the Christian Faith. Our conception of the Faith is being continually enriched.

But this branch of progress may be shown to bear an intimate relation to the progress of missionary work. This relation arises from the very nature of Christianity itself. For Christianity claims to be the universal religion. It appeals to man as man. The Son of God does not show exclusively the specific characteristics of this or that nation, whether of Jew or Greek or Roman. His Manhood is representative of the human race. Each fresh nation, as in turn it comes to know Him, finds perfectly represented in His ideal nature those special national characteristics, which it recognises as imperfectly existing in itself. But it is a law of human thought that man can only discover truths which arise out of his own experience. And so it

follows that each nation, with its own peculiar psychological experience, must have some contribution to make towards a fuller understanding of the religion of the Incarnation. The special qualities of each national type of thought and life are needed to elucidate the meaning of that perfectly representative human nature taken by the Son of God, and thence to estimate the bearing of the Incarnation upon the salvation of man.

A rapid survey of Christian history will show in a moment what the progress of missionary work in the past has effected in the enrichment of our conception of the Christian Faith.

Judaism is the matrix of Christianity. But Judaism is narrow, with all the narrowness that a national exclusiveness involves. It is true that Judaistic Christianity, the Christianity of St. Peter, St. James, and St. Jude, contains potentially the full Catholic Faith, but a freer spirit was necessary, in order that the potentialities might be revealed. Humanly speaking, there seemed at one time to be a danger of the new religion being kept within narrow national limits, and the book of the Acts records the struggle for emancipation. In this struggle St. Paul is the protagonist, and through him, under the divine direction, Christianity is given to the Greek peoples. Thus, through the first Foreign Missions, Hellenism receives the rich gift of the Gospel, and, not content with receiving, makes a splendid gift in return; for, as compared with Judaism, Hellenism presents an atmosphere of freedom, and in this free atmosphere the Church's conception of the Gospel broadens out. The gift is twofold—a language and a new philosophical insight. The later books of the New Testament are its earliest fruit. It produces the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Hebrews, and the Prologue of St. John's Gospel. We may note the influence of the new gift by comparing these with the earlier writings of St. Paul. St. Paul, indeed, is always wonderful, yet even he has his limitations; and we may note how his Rabbinic training colours his argument in his Epistles both to the Romans and the Galatians. But, later, the conventional cast of Rabbinic thought gives way to the philosophical habit, which is the gift of the Greek mind.

Thus, by contact with Hellenic thought, there grew up the grand Greek theology with its scientific terminology, bringing to the elucidation of the Faith the most perfect linguistic instrument that the human mind has produced. Clement, Origen, and Athanasius in Alexandria, the two Gregorys and Basil in Cappadocia, raise their splendid theological structure upon the broad foundation of the Apostolic teaching.

But meantime the work of Foreign Missions had been advancing, and the Latin mind had been subjugated to the Faith. Now, in some respects, Latin theology is retrograde in character. The severely practical turn of the Latin mind viewed with impatience the high transcendentalism of the Greeks; it was apt to forget that the Faith is greater than the symbol, and so showed a tendency towards an undue hardening of dogmatic expression. The true theologian will remember that the terms he employs are necessarily anthropomorphic, that his language is largely metaphor; and he will, therefore, be on his guard against developing a metaphor, as though it were the complete expression of a truth, of which in reality it probably represents only a single side. It is in too great a love of logical precision that Latin theology fails, presenting in this respect a tendency of which scholasticism is the goal. But, in spite of this, the contribution of Latin theology towards the development of the Christian consciousness, in regard to the Faith, is a valuable one. A great work was done by the Latins in the analysis of human nature. Thus, while the Greeks had been occupied in working out the meaning of the Incarnation, the Latins were able to show more satisfactorily how the fruits of the Incarnation satisfy the needs of man. They were able to prepare the way for a better understanding of the doctrine of the Atonement. The work of Augustine marks, in this respect, a distinct advance, and the outcome of the Pelagian controversy is a clearer view of the way of salvation by grace. At the same time, Latin theology has, if we may so say, the qualities of its defects. If it shows a tendency to over-definition, it also shows a power of systematisation, which has proved of great value to the Faith in giving stability against attack.

The spread of Christianity to the virile races of Northern Europe was bound to react upon the Faith. It was inevitable that so distinctive a type of human nature should find in the religion of the Incarnation a call to contribute to the widening knowledge of the Church. For the North has a spirit of its own. In a special degree it asserts the claims of a rational common sense. At first, indeed, the Northern spirit showed itself in an unfortunate way, for the earliest product of Teutonic Christianity was a recrudescence of Arianism. Arianism is essentially the product of a rationalising tendency, the outcome of an attempt to explain what is beyond the scope of human reason ; and it was no doubt this subtle appeal to the reason which made it attractive to the Teutonic mind. But the episode illustrates the mistakes into which the reason may be betrayed by a failure to mark the true nature of the premises upon which it has to work. Not till we reach the period of the Reformation do we arrive at the permanent contribution, which Teutonic Christianity was destined to make to the Christian Faith. The Reformation was a revolt against the irrational. It asserts that no truth, however transcendental, can be repugnant to the God-given reason. It introduces a robust common sense, which will not admit of a presentation of Christianity that is either unmanly or unreal. The Christianity of the North appeals to man as man in the fulness of his complete human nature and in his social relations. It finds its ideal, not in monasticism, but in social life. And herein its contribution to the practical aspects of the Faith is not yet complete. Teutonic Christianity still has its prophets, whose work it is to interpret the Message in the light of the ever-increasing complexity of social conditions ; to show us that, as the Incarnation has sanctified the whole of human life, so every condition of human activity may find in the religion of the Incarnation the satisfaction of its needs.

But the Missions of the Church have brought Christianity to Celts as well as Teutons, and they too have had their contribution to make. Celts and Teutons are planted side by side, and each is the necessary corrective of the other. The special function of the Celts has been to exhibit the loveliness of the Christian life, to bring the

gift of enthusiasm to correct the coldness of pure reason ; to remind us that the religion of the Son of Man claims the heart as well as the head, and that a warm-hearted temperament is a necessary element in Catholic Christianity.

Thus a survey of the history of Christianity shows an ever-widening conception of the meaning and power of the Faith. As, through the work of Missions, successive types of humanity have been brought into the Body of Christ, each of these types has had its contribution to make, sometimes in a further interpretation of fundamental dogma, sometimes in a new application of the Faith to the changing conditions of life. And as it has been in the past, so without doubt it must be in the future. The Church still has missionary triumphs in store for it. Many new national Churches are to take organic and characteristic form. Humanity has many types, which as yet are hardly represented in the Body of Christ. What is to be the fruit of the religion of the Incarnation when grafted on to these new nations? It is hardly possible even to guess. But this at least is certain, that a new expansion of the Christian consciousness must follow. Take, for instance, the nations of the East. They, like ourselves, are made "in the image of God," with power to know God. Yet so different are their modes of thought from our own that a European, it is said, never really understands an Oriental mind. Now, will not the characteristic thought of these nations, when brought under the sway of Christianity, react upon the Christian Faith? All analogy proclaims that it must be so. Take, for instance, the races of India ; take the people of China or of Japan. No one who grasps the principle of the Incarnation can doubt that such striking types of human nature must be destined to play an important part in the enrichment of the Faith.

But in what direction? Perhaps not even a professed Oriental student will do more than vaguely conjecture. But at least one idea suggests itself. A prominent Eastern characteristic is a disregard of time. The Oriental can wait. He is careless of the lapse of years. So his home is "the unchanging East." How different is this from the turmoil of the West, with its incessant rush, allowing no opportunity for rest and little for thought! Now may not this feature

of the Eastern mind enable it to throw light upon that idea of timelessness which underlies the Christian doctrine of eternity, an idea so difficult for a Western mind to grasp? "One day as a thousand years!" May it not be that in this direction the Oriental will help us better to understand the Christian Faith? Detail, however, must be conjecture. But at least let us be certain that in some direction a rich development of the Christian consciousness will be the outcome of further missionary work.

Missionary work, then, is necessary, in order that the Body of Christ may attain to its perfect form, and that the full significance of the Incarnation may be grasped. The process is like the work of the sculptor, who gives gradual expression in outward form to that which all the time has existed ideally in his brain. Michelangelo has left unfinished his wonderful figures of Evening and Day on the Medici tombs. Men may try to imagine what the perfect figures would have been. But conjecture is vain, and no hand can now produce the form that once existed in the master's mind. The creating hand is still. But it is not so in the Church, which is the Body of Christ. There too the fashioning is as yet incomplete, the figure is as yet but an *abbozzo*. But the creating hand of the Divine Spirit is still fashioning the Body. It is moving on towards its ideal. And ever the true catholicity of the Faith is being vividly shown, as, through the work of Missions, new nations come under its spell, and find in it the satisfaction of their deepest needs, and bring to its interpretation those special gifts which distinguish them from other nations in the great temple of humanity.

J. C. V. DURELL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Introductions *Mr. Eugene Stock* needs no introduction. It will be a surprise to many to
 to read that the C.M.S. was at one time
our readers. actively engaged in helping to infuse
 new life into several of the Churches of the East.

Mr. Victor Burton, who writes on Uganda, which he has recently visited, is one of the best known members of the C.M.S. Committee. He is a brother of Noel Buxton, who has just been elected as Member of Parliament for Whitby, and whose name has been associated with the attempts which have been made to set the Macedonian Christians free from Mohammedan persecution.

The article contributed by *Dr. Griswold*, who is a member of the American Presbyterian Church at Lahore, suggests what is likely to occur with increasing frequency in India as the knowledge of Christian teaching spreads. India will probably be evangelised by native teachers and prophets, and it can hardly be expected that this will take place apart from the development of at least as many heresies and distortions of the Christian faith as occurred in the course of the evangelisation of Europe.

Mr. Daniell-Bainbridge, the Precentor of Westminster Abbey, who writes on "The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa," was one of the band of English clergy who went out last year to conduct Mission and other services with the special object of endeavouring to strengthen the hands of the Church of South Africa.

The Rev. W. Nelson Bitton, who writes on the educational outlook in China, is a missionary of the London Missionary Society and Secretary of the China Missionary Alliance.

Dr. Wyckoff, who writes on Islam in India, has had a

long experience of work amongst Mohammedans in India. He is a member of the Reformed Dutch Church and is stationed at Vellore.

*Baptism behind
the purdah.*

THE first article in the present issue, which is written by an Indian missionary, deals with one of the most important subjects which have ever been discussed in this Review. The seclusion of women throughout the greater part of India forms so great an obstacle to the acceptance of the Christian faith by the high-class women of India that the baptism of such converts is a very rare event. According to the testimony of missionaries and others, the one insuperable obstacle to the profession of Christianity by Indian women is that it immediately and necessarily results in the disruption of family life. If it were possible for a woman to become a professed Christian and to continue to live under her husband's roof, many a husband who now dreads the visit of the zenana missionary lady would gladly see his wife become by outward profession what he is himself by intellectual conviction.

It may be true that no precedent can be found in early Church history for the baptism of women in a state of health by women, but this may reasonably be accounted for by the fact that the seclusion of women as practised in India to-day was unknown in any country in which early Christian Missions were carried on. On the other hand, a precedent of early date can be produced for women taking to women the elements of the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. We earnestly trust that the Bishops in India may see their way to authorise sisters, deaconesses, or other ordained women to baptize Indian women behind the purdah, and may further authorise them to take to these women the sacramental elements. The fact that the women behind the purdah would not have been confirmed need create no difficulty as far as the rubrics in our Prayer Book are concerned, as they would be persons desirous of receiving Confirmation. We should be glad to hear from missionaries in India whose experience would enable them to throw light upon this question.

*The drink traffic
in West Africa.*

WE trust that the debate which was raised by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords on June 6 may draw further attention to the serious evil which is already beginning to result from the building of railways in West Africa. The prohibition of the traffic in cheap spirits on and near the coast is a counsel of perfection inasmuch as the German and French authorities will not accept such a policy. Owing to the fact that the Niger possesses some fifty mouths and innumerable creeks, smuggling can at all times be carried on with impunity. Hence many of those who most desire to keep the natives near the coast from drinking gin are not prepared to support the imposition of a very high tax. But no one who has the interest of the native at heart and is familiar, as the editor of this Review is, with the results produced by the present trade, can do otherwise than protest against the carriage of gin on the newly-constructed railways. Thanks to the wise and philanthropic policy of Sir George Goldie, which has never received its proper share of recognition, gin is practically unknown in the interior. The writer has travelled many hundreds of miles in the far hinterland without ever seeing a gin bottle or a case of drunkenness. The only possible way in which this happy state of things can be maintained is by the resolution on the part of the Government representatives to prohibit absolutely the carriage of gin in the trains. The reply made by the Duke of Marlborough to the effect that the railway authorities would lose money if they failed to carry gin is surely unworthy of any civilised, not to say Christian, Government.

*Death of the Rev.
Dr. Hudson
Taylor.*

ON June 3 last there died at Changsha, Hunan, China, the man who, as judged from the standpoint of visible result, had done more to further the cause of Foreign Missions than anyone who has lived for at least a century. Opinions differ widely in regard to the wisdom of some of his methods and in regard to the suitability of many of the missionaries whom he was instrumental in sending out to China, but it is impossible to do

otherwise than admire his personal faith and enthusiasm. The writer remembers how some thirty years ago he was first induced as a schoolboy to take a keen interest in Foreign Missions by listening to an address on the work of the China Inland Mission given by its founder in Liverpool. At the time when he founded this Mission, *i.e.* in 1865, there were only fifteen other than Roman Mission stations in the whole of China. To-day the China Inland Mission alone possesses 200 central stations, 520 out-stations, and 825 missionaries, including missionaries' wives. During the recent insurrection the China Inland Mission lost seventy-five of its European members, who were put to death by the Boxers. No Mission has been so severely, and perhaps so justly, criticised for the use of apparently unsuitable agents and for the political unwisdom of its policy, but no Mission has set so splendid an example of enthusiastic self-sacrifice. We offer our respectful sympathy to the representatives of the China Inland Mission on the occasion of the death of its founder.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE UNCTION OF THE SICK

Alltshellach, Onich, Inverness-shire.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must send you a line to tell you with what deep interest I have read the persuasive article in the January number of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* on the Uction of the Sick. My attention was called to it by the Bishop of Gloucester's letter in the new number. From time to time during the last twenty years I have consecrated supplies of the *Oleum Infirmorum* for use by others, but I have only very rarely administered unction myself. When I have done so, I do not think recovery followed.

The whole subject is very important, and we must pray that the Holy Spirit Himself may give us more light, and guide us in the right way.

ALEX,
Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

Bishopscourt, Wellington, N.Z.

My dear Sir,—I have been very much interested in the article in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* on medical missions. It wants thinking over carefully.

Strangely (or perhaps not strangely), it came to my hands just after I had confirmed a lad who was so ill that the doctor, who had given leave for the confirmation, had said at the same time that he could not be moved from the place in which he was for some twelve months. When I confirmed him, I prayed of course with him and his friends that God would restore him to health. Within a fortnight he was well enough to be moved to his home in the South Island—seven hours' train to Wellington, eleven hours' voyage, and about seven hours' more train and carriage—and, though he is not yet well, he is very much stronger.

FREDERIC WELLINGTON.

REVIEWS.

South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905, 98 pp., price 10½d., issued by Wyman & Sons, Fetter Lane, E.C. Few, if any, Government Blue Books have been issued which contain more emphatic testimony to the good results produced by Christian Missions than does this Report which has just been laid before Parliament. The Commission was conducted with the most elaborate care and on the most impartial lines. It held sittings at Capetown, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Bulawayo, and elsewhere, and opportunities were taken to inspect native educational and industrial institutions, municipal locations, land settlements, labour compounds, and hospitals. We commend the following paragraph to the numerous globe-trotters who are constantly assuring us that they have visited South Africa and have seen for themselves that Missions to natives do nothing but harm. "For the moral improvement of the Natives there is available no influence equal to that of religious belief . . . The Commission considers that no merely secular system of morality that might be applied would serve to raise the Natives' ideals of conduct or to counteract the evil influences which have been alluded to, and is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals. . . . It is true that the conduct of many converts to Christianity is not all that could be desired, and that the native Christian does not appear to escape at once and entirely from certain besetting sins of his nature ; but nevertheless the weight of evidence is in favour of the improved morality of the Christian section of the population and to the effect that there appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching or to adopt Christian morals as a standard." . . . The Commission recommends full recognition of the utility of the work of the Churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelising the heathen, and has adopted the following resolution : (a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilisation of the Natives is to be found in Christianity ; (b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all native schools.

As we read these sentences and many others to a similar effect

scattered throughout the Blue Book it is hard to realise that we are not reading a report supplied by the missionaries themselves, many of whom would scarcely have written in so confident a strain. No stronger evidence has ever been produced of the splendid work which missionaries have done, are doing, and may be expected to do amongst the native races in South Africa.

On the subject of the immediate effects produced by native education the witnesses who gave evidence before the Commission differed widely. The report, however, states that "The consensus of opinion expressed before the Commission is to the effect that education, while in a certain number of cases it has had the effect of creating in the Natives an aggressive spirit, arising no doubt from an exaggerated sense of individual self-importance, which renders them less docile and less disposed to be contented with the position for which nature or circumstances have fitted them, has had generally a beneficial influence on the Natives themselves, and by raising the level of their intelligence, and by increasing their capacities and their earning power, has been an advantage to the community."

One of the questions considered by the Commission was the giving of the franchise to native voters. The report describes the serious objections which may be raised against any scheme which allows Natives and Europeans to vote side by side for the same representative, and eventually recommends that the Natives should have a certain limited number of representatives to represent themselves exclusively in Parliament.

"The central idea of the scheme, in favour of which there is entire unanimity among the members of the Commission, is separate voting by native electors only for a fixed number of members to represent them in the Legislatures of the country, with the same status as other members; the number and qualifications of such members to be settled by each Legislature; the number not to be more than sufficient to provide an adequate means for the expression of native views and the ventilation of their grievances, if any, and not to be regulated by the numerical strength of the native vote; no native to vote at the election of any candidate or member who is to represent Europeans; all Colonies and possessions in South Africa to adopt the plan as they become self-governing."

The whole report is full of interesting information, and every missionary library should obtain a copy of it. It can be ordered through any bookseller.

Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races: being Vols. XII. to XIV. of the Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Published by the Board of Education. London. 1905.

THE Board of Education labours with unflagging industry for the enlightenment of a heedless public. Its series of special reports contains a mass of information on the systems of education pursued in England and in all the principal countries in Europe; in 1901 the Board issued a couple of volumes on education in Canada, Australia, and the other self-governing Colonies of the Empire, and the three volumes which lie before us narrate the history and present development of education in twenty-one Crown Colonies from Honduras to Hong Kong. But this is only half the contents. Industrial training formed a special subject of the Board's inquiries, and numerous reports discuss the industrial training of native races by Christian missions in India, Africa, the South Seas, New Zealand, and North America. Two goodly volumes published by the India Office in 1904, and reviewed in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* of January 1905, give full details of every kind of educational work done in India, so that it is now possible for anyone to obtain a comprehensive view of the state of education throughout the British dominions.

The classification of the three volumes before us is geographical. Vol. XII. deals with the Crown Colonies and possessions in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, Vol. XIII. with Africa and its neighbouring islands, and Vol. XIV. with the East. The reports on the education of native races will be found in the last two volumes. This geographical division corresponds roughly with another division of great importance—the division between colonies with a large European element and those where it is absent. The former lie for the most part west of Port Said, Mauritius, and some other islands, formerly French, off the African mainland being the only exceptions. In all of these semi-European colonies there are diverse nationalities, generally different races. The West India settlements are the most numerous; they are also perhaps the most homogeneous, and they best illustrate the history of our English methods of dealing with education. We shall therefore begin with them.

The West India Islands came into our possession at very various times. The Bahamas were the stronghold of pirates. English companies colonised Barbadoes and the Bermudas early in the seventeenth century. Grenada and St. Vincent were ceded by the French in 1763, while Trinidad and Tobago were Spanish, and came into our possession in 1797. All these islands have a

population partly white, but mostly Negro; in some there are Indian coolies, in others the Creole element is considerable. In Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, and St. Vincent a French *patois* is the common language; Spanish is spoken in some out-of-the-way districts, while English alone prevails in most of the islands, and is now taught everywhere. There are other difficulties besides that of language. In Honduras the people are log-cutters, who continually migrate, and in the Bahamas the islets are so numerous that the use of the mariner's compass is a part of elementary education.

The great colonising companies of the seventeenth century were composed of God-fearing men. On the staff of their factories there was usually a chaplain, besides merchants and a master-gunner, and we find them making provision for the religious instruction of the colonists. The Barbadoes Company divided the Barbadoes into eleven parishes, but the Negroes were left out of account, for it was not generally considered desirable to educate them. In the Bermudas alone a more enlightened policy prevailed, and school lands (unfortunately diverted afterwards to other objects) were assigned for the support of local teachers. Throughout the eighteenth century all attempts at public instruction fell into desuetude. Whatever was done for education was done by private individuals, or with the assistance of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. Their efforts were chiefly devoted to secondary education, and were intended to benefit heathens as well as Europeans. Bishop Berkeley obtained a charter for a college to be established in the Bermudas for the training of North American Indians, and was promised 20,000*l.* by the English Parliament, but the money was never paid, and after expending seven years and a large part of his private fortune on the project, the Bishop returned to England in 1731, *re infecta*, and handed over to the S.P.G. the funds he had collected. In Barbadoes alone did private benevolence effect anything of importance for education in the eighteenth century. Sir Christopher Codrington (1711), a native of Barbadoes, bequeathed his estates in that island for the foundation of a college, which still exists. It was intended to train youths for the ministry, and was under the management of the S.P.G. Other bequests led to the establishment of schools for poor whites; but, generally speaking, what schools there were in the eighteenth century in the West Indies were private schools taught by clergymen, who, we are told, required this means of eking out their incomes.

The agitation which preceded the emancipation of the slaves created a demand for schools for half-breed and Negro children. Lord Combermere, Lady Mico, and other important personages led the way, and the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Wesleyan Churches took the matter up. The first efforts of the various

a little Arabic and Persian is taught as well as Turkish. In Greek villages, on the contrary, the schoolmaster continually changes with the change of local politics. His post is put up to public auction, he has to haggle for his pay, and in one case had to be content with 4*l.* 10*s.* a year. He is a better educated man and a better teacher than his Moslem neighbour in the next village, but he has no prospect of continuance and politics are his bane.

In Africa and the Far East the educational problem is entirely different. Here we have to deal with non-Christian races in manifold stages of civilisation, and the whole burden of education falls upon the Government and the missionaries.

In the Far East, Government takes a prominent part, and mission work is either confined to some special department or, at least, is not the most prominent factor. But, curiously enough, the Government itself has sometimes indulged in a propagandist policy. Hong Kong is an instance in point. This island, with its adjacent islets, once the home of salt smugglers and pirates, is now one of the greatest ports of the world and the resort of many nationalities. The school for European children is said to represent ten European languages. The Chinese are the bulk of the inhabitants, and they are constantly recruited by traders and clerks from the mainland. They believe in education, and when the English Government took over the island in 1841 indigenous schools existed in all the larger villages, the precepts of Confucius and Mencius being instilled into the children by means of the rod. Government and the missionaries at once set to work to educate in Western fashion. Their object was avowedly the training of native Christian teachers, by means of whom the natives both of the island and the mainland might be converted. But their pupils found more lucrative employment in public departments and in merchants' offices; and in 1859, by Dr. Legge's advice, the Government policy became purely secularist. Government grants to mission schools were to be devoted wholly to secular education. The Roman Catholics refused to fall into line, and through the energy of their Bishop Raimondi their schools multiplied and flourished, while the others remained stationary. The secularist policy had failed, and in 1879, with the arrival of a Roman Catholic Governor and the appointment of a missionary to be head of the Education Department, a third revolution took place, so that grants-in-aid were given unconditionally to all religious bodies. Thus the pendulum has swung, each time under missionary influence, from one extreme to the other; but although much good work has been done, especially in the education of Chinese girls, the original conception of a seminary from which the mainland may be Christianised remains unfulfilled.

The Chinese migrate in large numbers to the Straits Settle-

ments and the Malay Peninsula. In the Federated Malay States, which have been under British protection for the last thirty years, the Chinese already number over 300,000. The prosperity of these States has been phenomenal, the revenue increasing in twenty-five years over thirtyfold; and the rich tin-mines have attracted not only Chinese, but a large number of natives of the South of India. The immigrant population is now as numerous as the Malay, but Malay is the *lingua franca* both here and in the Straits Settlements, Penang, Singapore, and Malacca.

The Straits Settlements have long been English, and while Koran schools are the only ones known on the mainland, high schools and convent schools, founded by private generosity or religious denominations, have existed in the Straits Settlements for nearly a century. Sir Stamford Raffles, indeed, in the commencement of the nineteenth century, planned an academy, not only for the higher education of Malays, but for the study by Europeans of Malay literature and history—a noble design, ill-realised.

When Government took up the question of education in the Straits and on the mainland, it found that primary schools did not exist, while all secondary education was in the hands of religious bodies. It has preserved this distinction.

All primary schools are Government schools, and attendance at them is compulsory on the boys of the neighbourhood—a step which only one other Crown Colony has ventured to try. The Malays are Mohammedans, and the masters are allowed to teach the Koran in the afternoon. The secondary schools are all aided Mission schools, and, as they charge fees, the attendance is unusually good: both Chinese and Indians value knowledge most when they have to pay for it. The knowledge of English pays so well, and the demand for clerks is so great, that the language difficulty solves itself, Tamils and Chinese preferring the barbarous English jargon which they learn to their own vernaculars.

The educational difficulties of Africa are widely different from those of the Far East. Here there are societies, few of which have advanced beyond a low stage of civilisation; their languages are not reduced to writing, and they universally entertain a genuine contempt for manual labour and the arts of peace. The cultivation of the soil is assigned to women, and indolence and caprice are the hereditary privilege of the men when they are not engaged in war, fishing, and the chase. The earliest attempts at Negro education were due to the liberated slaves and Africans from Nova Scotia, landed in Sierra Leone in the end of the eighteenth century. They valued instruction and were willing to pay for it, the Sierra Leone Company encouraged their efforts, and the missionaries, more especially the C.M.S. and the Wesleyans, have

in 1883. It has now 46 priests, 40 other choir fathers, 237 lay brethren, and 380 nuns. It has 26 out-stations in Natal, Griqualand, Mashonaland, and German East Africa. The technical bureau at Mariannhill draws up the plans for all the buildings and mills to be erected at these 26 stations ; it supplies the churches with altars, and sends them painters and decorators. It prints books in Zulu, Basuto, Bechuana, Mashona, and Swahili, and issues a weekly illustrated paper in the Zulu tongue. It possesses forges and carpenters' shops, tanning yards, saddlery and shoe-making departments ; it employs a staff of bricklayers, masons, and stonecutters. At an out-station called Reichenau, the fathers have extensive cornlands and a large stone-quarry. At Centrecon there are extensive orchards which supply thousands of young seedlings. At another station in East Griqualand the fathers own 50,000 acres, which they use for breeding horses, cattle, and sheep. At all the stations the water-power is utilised to drive the mills. The sisters teach the girls cooking, washing, ironing, and needlework, and there are excellent institutions where the surplus wives of polygamous Negro converts are cared for and taught. The Benedictines of New Nursia in Australia are the only other body who work among the aborigines on this extensive scale. None of the remaining missions on the African continent attempt it, but in Uganda and Livingstonia, and also at Abeokuta, much has been done in the way of erecting buildings, forges, printing-presses, and carpenters' shops ; less, perhaps, for agriculture, although in Uganda and Abeokuta much has been done for the improvement of the coffee plant and the cultivation of rice and wheat. Many kinds of fruit trees have been acclimatised very successfully in Central Africa, and the mission stations there are distinguishable by their exotic orchards, just as we can trace the Nestorians in Central Asia by their plantations.

Africa and India are the two chief spheres of industrial work dealt with in these two volumes. Very little is said, and that only incidentally, of the work of the Church in training the native tribes of North America, Australia, and the South Seas. The survey is incomplete, but even from this partial review it is clear that there are certain differences of method between Roman Catholic and other missions in the matter. Roman Catholic missions derive immense help from their lay brethren in all industrial work. Most of these lay brethren are skilled artisans. At Mariannhill we find twenty-four skilled carpenters, sixteen blacksmiths and engineers, thirteen masons, and so forth down to saddlers, painters, watchmakers, and photographers. The priest has no concern with this secular part of the mission ; the division of labour is complete. In other missions everything depends on the individual missionary ; he unites everything in himself. He may be an

admirable organiser of labour, as was Mackay in Uganda, Johnson in Sierra Leone, and Duncan on the coast of the North Pacific. But, however excellent, his work depends solely on himself; it is lacking in continuity, and is apt to interfere with his spiritual duties. On the other hand, the native taught in Roman Catholic missions seems to be frequently kept in a state of tutelage. He is seldom trained to be more than an assistant. One consequence is that wherever a demand exists for skilled native workmen, non-Roman missions find it more difficult apparently to retain their pupils than Roman Catholic missions do.

On another most important point, as to whether the instruction of savage races in the rudiments of civilisation should precede the effort to Christianise them, there is some difference of opinion. Mgr. Casartelli says:—"The general experience of our missionaries has been, that without some preliminary training in habits of work and industry, religious or moral teaching has very little, if any, effect." But this opinion is by no means borne out by all the reports which the Bishop submits; and it is most strongly combated by Mr. Maconachie on behalf of the C.M.S. The experiment was made with the New Zealand Maoris and in Sierra Leone a century ago, and it failed. The C.M.S. committee realised that "if civilisation preceded Christianity, it was very likely to prove an obstacle to Christianity, and that the Gospel did not need the 'arts of life' as its precursors, however useful they might be to win attention to the Divine Message." "The dominant pre-eminence of that Divine Message has ever since been unchallenged in the operations of the Church Missionary Society." As a matter of fact, in Africa, North America, the South Seas and Australia, the catechumens and converts supply the great majority of the pupils, and outside the mission stations gross savagery prevails, while among the more highly civilised races of Asia the great majority of the scholars are pagan.

Industrial work in India stands on a totally different footing. "A decisive distinction is drawn by some," Mr. Maconachie writes, "as to allowing industrial work in Africa and Canada, while they discourage the idea altogether in India. I am inclined to think this opinion somewhat behind the times. Two facts are patent—one is the difficulty of finding employment for inmates of our orphanages when they grow up, and the other is the hardship and often poverty entailed on men of caste when they become Christians." Sporadic efforts have often been made to meet the difficulty. The printing offices and telegraphs of Northern India are largely staffed by native Christians. When the converts from a single low caste have been numerous, they have sometimes been formed into a separate industrial community. There were at one time numerous villages of Christian leather-workers near Delhi.

But all these attempts have been due to individual enterprises; they have suffered from want of continuity, lack of funds, and the atmosphere of nominal Christianity which commercial schemes are apt to develop. The Industrial Missions' Aid Society has been founded in order to assist missionaries by taking charge of remunerative projects, but its operations have hitherto been confined to India and to one form of employment—carpet-making. Agriculture would at first sight appear to be the most obvious resource, and Christian cultivating villages have often been tried. Mr. Maconachie says:—"The oldest agricultural settlement by the C.M.S. in India was Mengnanapuram, in Madras. Rhenius initiated a philanthropic society for the assistance of poor native Christians by their well-to-do brethren. John Thomas took up the idea, and his energy, under God's blessing, developed the small Christian settlement into the great village of Mengnanapuram, with its fine church and its great congregation of working-class Christians, the centre of evangelistic work in a populous district. Other Christian villages, all more or less agricultural; are Sigra, near Benares, started by Leupolt; Basharatpur, near Gorakhpur, where some waste land was granted by Lord William Bentinck; Muirabad, just outside Allahabad; Sharanpur, near Nasik, the most decidedly manufacturing settlement of all, and in some ways the most interesting; and last, but not least, Clarkabad, in the Punjab. The attractiveness of the idea of a Christian village, its manifest dangers and drawbacks, the local as well as general difficulties of working out the plan, the vicissitudes of history and of management, the absolute necessity of successfully solving the problem of assisting poor Christians without demoralising them, these are the salient facts which press on the mind when the question is considered. There is probably no more important subject than this affecting the economic position and social development of the Christian community in India at present and in the near future." Mr. Stern was for some forty years in charge of Basharatpur, and has had more experience of such villages than most missionaries. He says that on his taking charge of the village he found most of the land, although nominally in the hands of native Christians, was sub-let by them to outsiders. He insisted on the Christians cultivating the land themselves, but at a reduced rent, for they were unskilful cultivators. Most of the converts were really ignorant of agriculture, and had to be trained; no wonder that they found it pleasanter to live as middle-men on their rents than to cultivate the land themselves. Mr. Stern also taught the boys at the orphanage to cultivate; they helped to raise the crops for their own support; and when they grew up they were allowed to choose a wife from the orphan girls and were presented with a certain area of plough land, seed-grain, and a pair

of bullocks. Mr. Stern is decidedly in favour of these Christian villages. "In my opinion," he says, "it was better for the Christians to live apart from the heathen, as they could be better controlled and prevented from falling back into heathenish habits. It was most necessary to have this land and village for their maintenance; it did also pay the mission, and the cultivators helped to support their church and schools. Some of the children of native Christians did very well in school; one was an M.A., another became a lady doctor, and two were ordained pastors."

The history of the educational work of Christian Missions, as displayed in these volumes, may be summed up thus—Christian Missions have long devoted their efforts to the spread of literary education and the training of native pastors and teachers. But all such education must be preceded or accompanied by the preaching of the Gospel, for without religion literary culture has little or no ethical value. Industrial training often accompanies this literary culture, but in Protestant Missions it has been fitfully given as circumstances demanded, or the qualifications of the individual missionary admitted, and the parent Society has seldom had a hand in the matter. In recent years the necessity for some systematic industrial training has been recognised by the governing committees, and the C.M.S. trains all its alumni at Islington in some handicraft. In Roman Catholic Missions, industrial training is no novelty. Roman "Catholic missionaries among the native races," says Mgr. Casartelli, "have uniformly followed the old Benedictine motto, *Ora et labora*, and combined industrial training of some sort with doctrinal teaching and moral instruction." More importance is attached to industrial training than to literary accomplishments as a means of education, but the manual training is given chiefly in the form of employment on mission work and in the cultivation of mission lands, and much stress is laid on the necessity of keeping the half-trained savage within the sphere of religious influence. These volumes are far from giving a complete view of the educational work done by Christian Missions, but they contain a mass of valuable matter bearing on certain branches of the subject. Mr. Maconachie's report on the principles which have guided the C.M.S. and the large number of reports submitted by Mgr. Casartelli, give a special value to the last volume, which also contains a useful list of the Roman Catholic Missions in every part of the British Empire.

J. K.

The Encyclopedia of Missions. Revised edition. 851 pp. Published by Funk and Wagnalls. Price 25s.

THIS is a revised edition of a similar encyclopedia which was published in 1891, and is likely to be of immense use to American

students and to a lesser extent to students in England. We greatly wish that such a book could be compiled by someone who was thoroughly familiar with the work of our English missionary societies. Meanwhile we are grateful to the editors of this encyclopedia for the painstaking care with which they have dealt with the mass of information which is here provided. The articles on Mohammedanism and the Mohammedan sects and on Roman Catholic Missions contain a good deal of information which is not always easy to obtain. In the article on Mohammedanism the statement is made that in the Dutch East Indies some 40,000 Muslims have become Christians. In the article entitled "Asiatics in the United States" we read: "Mission work among the Japanese in the United States is a hopeful and growing one. On the Pacific coast they are fast increasing in numbers, as they are free to come while an exclusion law shuts out the Chinese. There are about 60,000 on the West Coast, 40,000 in California, and 4,000 or 5,000 in San Francisco. More than forty steamers are plying between this coast and Japan, and every steamer adds to the number of Japanese in our country." The book is one which ought to find a place in every missionary library.

The Secret of a Great Influence: being Notes on Bishop Westcott's Teaching. Published by Macmillan. 240 pp. Price 3s. net.

THIS book represents an attempt to widen the circle of Bishop Westcott's readers by reproducing characteristic extracts on many different subjects from his published writings. The chapter on Foreign Missions is specially interesting. We have only space for a single extract, but the whole chapter, and indeed the whole book, is to be cordially recommended. In "Lessons from Work," Bishop Westcott wrote:—

"It is not a devout humility so much as an unfaithful lukewarmness which draws a sharp line between the Apostolic missions and our own. Whatever difference does divide them, let us be sure this is due to man and not to God. . . . If there be a change in the efficacy of our appeals and our ministry, it is from ourselves. Not one promise made to the Church has been revoked. Not one gift has been annulled. Not one command has been withdrawn. 'Make disciples of all nations,' 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' 'I am with you all the days'—are still living words of a living Saviour, spoken once and spoken always. The slackness of our energy is alone able to hinder the progress of this triumph; the dimness of our vision is alone able to dull the effulgence of His glory."

The Home Ministry and Modern Missions. By J. R. Mott. With a Preface by Eugene Stock. Published by Hodder & Stoughton. 224 pp. Price 3s. 6d.

WE cannot too strongly commend this book to the attention of all who desire to know how they may best promote the interests of missionary work at home. It is characterised throughout by deep religious enthusiasm and practical common sense. It is moreover as interesting as it is instructive.

A Brahman Convert: A Memoir of Dr. Lacy of Agra. Published by the Rev. B. J. Lacy, Cawnpore.

THE subject of this memoir, whose real name was Chandi Deen, was a converted Brahmin who practised for many years as a doctor. Chandi Deen was born in 1825, a member of the highest Brahman families, and died in 1902, one of the most respected Christians in Agra. From the first it seemed that he was destined to find Hinduism unsatisfactory. One day, when he was about six years of age, he was instructed, for the first time, to fulfil his turn at the presentation of the family food to the gods (called *Naivedya*), that is, to take the dishes of *dal*, &c., and after waving them and sprinkling water, place them before the household images and watch beside them for a time. He was left to perform these duties while his mother went to bathe. He applied his own childlike notions to the ceremony, and expected the gods actually to take the food, and when he found that they would not eat from the dishes which he placed before them began to remonstrate: "My friends are waiting for me to play." At last, losing his temper and saying, "If you will not eat you must be made to eat," he took up the images and planted them head-foremost in the dishes. His mother, returning at this moment, cried, "What have you done to the gods?" "Oh," he said "they only sit staring, and they would do nothing when I told them to eat, so I put their heads in and now they can eat as much as they like." He added some gratuitous abuse of the offending deities which sent his mother into loud lamentations. She called all the neighbouring ladies to lament with her and to make amends for the outrage.

Subsequently, though educated as a Pundit, and therefore with the prospect of an easy life before him, he elected against the wishes of his family to become a doctor, obtained his training by the aid of an Englishman, Dr. T. S. Lacy, and entered Government service. While stationed at Agra in 1855 he became a Mohammedan, and was a leader in organising the opposition to the Christian influences in Agra which were associated with the

foundation of the college by Mr. French, the future Bishop of Lahore. The outbreak of the Mutiny, however, found him on the point of becoming a Christian. After a variety of valuable services both to the Government and to his friends during this troubled time, he settled, when order was restored, in private practice in Agra, and was baptised in 1859, when, at the request of the old friend and helper who now became his godfather, he adopted the name of John Clement Lacy. From that time onwards the story of his life is the record of the family life of one who was at once a skilful doctor and an earnest Christian.

The latter portion of the book gives the details of financial troubles and persecutions brought upon him by some of his enemies.

The following is one of several incidents recorded which illustrate his grasp of the principles of his faith. A young Indian Christian attending the service which Chandi Deen attended used to enter somewhat too freely with very dirty boots and seat himself inside. The doctor took his own handkerchief and went down on the floor to rub the boots. The object lesson produced its effect, and the Indian remembers with gratitude the lesson he received from the stately Brahman.

The History of the Melanesian Mission. By E. S. Armstrong.
Published in 1900 by Isbister at 10s. 6d.

COPIES of this book, which is the best and most complete history of the Mission, can be obtained at the S.P.G. House for 3s.

Empire Builders. By various writers. Published by the C.M.S.
219 pp. Price 1s. 6d.

THE title is a little misleading, as the book does not refer to the building of any earthly empire, but the book is well written and illustrated and relates some experiences of pioneer missionaries of the C.M.S. in many different lands.

Wilfred's Voyage from London to China and up the River Yangtse.
Published by Partridge. Price 1s.

INTENDED for children aged from three to six. The age of the traveller was three.

Amussis: a Right Intention the Rule of all Human Actions. By Jeremy Drexel. Translated by the Rev. L. M. Dalton. Published by Marten, Sudbury. Drexel, who is best known to English readers as the author of the *Heliotropium*, wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century.

THE present work is a good specimen of the devotional books of that time.

History of the Orthodox Church in Austria-Hungary, I. Hemannstadt. By Margaret Dampier. Published for the Eastern Church Association by Rivingtons. Price 1s. 6d.

A SKETCH of the ecclesiastical history of Transylvania, including the present country of Roumania, from the time when it became Christian in the fourth century down to the present time. The Orthodox Church in Roumania has suffered much at the hands of the civil authorities, who have endeavoured at one time to make it Protestant and at another time to subject it to Rome. The book speaks of a steady improvement in the condition of the clergy and laity within recent time, though it does not enable us to gather what the present condition is.

The Imperial Drug Trade, a Re-statement of the Opium Question in the Light of Recent Evidence and New Developments in the East. By Joshua Rowntree. Pp. 304. Published by Methuen. Price 5s. net.

THIS book contains a strong indictment of the opium trade with China, but is written in much more reasonable language than the two books on the same subject referred to in our last issue. Moreover the writer is careful not to confuse the practice of chewing opium which prevails in India, and which is apparently harmless, with that of smoking opium which prevails in China, and is certainly productive of much evil. One of the strongest arguments in support of the writer's contention that the export of opium from India ought immediately to be abolished is afforded by the action of the Japanese Government. No opium is allowed to enter Japan, and the Japanese, since they became possessors of the island of Formosa, have restricted the sale of opium within narrow limits, with the intention of ultimately abolishing it. The fact that the single province of Ssuchvan in China grows more than double the quantity of Indian opium brought into China does not decrease the responsibility of England, for if it can be proved that opium is injurious there can be no justification for importing any quantity, however small.

We have received the following from the S.P.C.K. :—*Malagasy Portions of Prayer Book*, 1s. 4d. ; *Mukawa Portions of Prayer Book*, 2s. ; *Mukawa Psalm and Hymn Book*, 8d. ; *Mukawa Preparation for Holy Communion*, 3d. ; *Mukawa Catechism Book*, 6d. ; *Nupe Reading Book*, 6d. ; *Swahili Geography of Africa*, 9d. ; *Wedau Portions of Prayer Book*, 3s. ; *Wedau Reading Book*, 4d. ; *Luganda Revised Prayer Book*, 1s. 4d. ; *Batonga Hymns and Psalms*, 2s. 6d. ; *Robertson's "Church History" in Luganda*, 2s. ; *Manual of the Prayer Book in Luganda*, 6d. ; *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Vocabulary*, 2s. ; *"Evidences of the Christian Religion."* By J. Murray Mitchell, M.A., LL.D., *in Swahili*, 1s. 4d. ; *The Children's Saviour*. By Father Osborne, *in Zulu*, 1s. ; *Geography of Africa in the Mombasa Swahili Language*.

WE have also received from Messrs. H. Frowde, Oxford University Press, the second part of *A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*. By the Rev. A. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D.

The East and The West

OCTOBER 1905

THE EFFECT OF THE JAPANESE VICTORIES UPON INDIA

REALISING that the war between Russia and Japan must carry with it far-reaching consequences in the Nearer East, I seized every opportunity of gathering the opinions expressed by the more thoughtful and outspoken Hindus and Mohammedans. During a short furlough, while travelling and while studying Persian at Cambridge, I have had opportunities of meeting men whose lives have been passed in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Persia, and what they have told me has strongly confirmed the impression that I had obtained in India. It is from these data that this paper is written in order to elicit, if possible, the opinions of others as to the movement which is going on, silently but none the less surely, in the hearts of the great Eastern peoples.

If a new phenomenon appears in some department of science, every student in that department at once puts to himself the question, "What does this mean to me in my particular subject?" There may then be needed a readjustment here and there, perhaps even a reconstruction of ideas. In the great science of human life a new factor has

NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

appeared in Japan. Political thinkers in all the Chancelleries of Europe have already begun to ask, "What does this mean to our political interests?" But there are religious problems of the most vital moment also involved. We need, both at home and abroad, Christian thinkers who will carefully consider, "What does this new factor mean to missionary enterprise? How may the new movement in the East be rightly used to extend the Kingdom of Christ? What new methods may be needed to cope with the new problems?" Our Lord has told us that "the scribe instructed unto the Kingdom . . . bringeth forth out of his treasures things new and old." In this fresh epoch of Eastern history we need with care and patience to revise our work and bring out new treasures of the Christian life to meet the new aspirations which are coming to the birth.

The effect of the Japanese successes upon the educated people of North India has been startling and immediate. A wave of enthusiasm has passed through all our cities which has given rise to new hopes and new ideals. One of the older men told me "There has been nothing like it since the Mutiny." I do not mean by this that the movement is disloyal—it is rather the awakening of a new national spirit and the turning of all eyes in India to Japan as the true model for the East. After a passive, fatalistic acquiescence in the advance of the West as inevitable, there has now arisen an active hope that the East may work out her own salvation in her own Eastern way, and that India may one day take her place side by side with Japan as an independent nation. *Ex oriente fiat lux.* Students who before were anxious to go to Oxford or Cambridge are now eager to go to Tokio, and some have already started.

Let me give concrete examples of the trend of thought. At a Mission College attached to Cambridge University it is natural that our professors and students should be encouraged to speak out what is in their minds with perfect frankness and openness. I was present a short time ago at a debate in Delhi. An Indian Christian professor was speaking, who had from college days been in closest contact with Cambridge men. He began

by saying that he wished to present the case exactly as it appeared to him, an Indian. This was briefly his statement: "The East for centuries past was absorbed in the contemplative life. She had her own conception of civilisation—a high and in no sense a material one—her chief interests were metaphysical questionings, philosophy, art, religion. But in all this there was one fatal weakness. It rendered her a prey to the conquest of brute force. The invasions of barbarous hordes from Central Asia had first broken in upon her peace, yet they after all were Asiatic, and became in time acclimatised. But then the Western conqueror came, with far superior mechanical skill in war and a far superior civilisation on its material side. Herein lay the real danger. This material and materialising side of Western civilisation was aggressive and destructive. It would not acclimatise itself, and it was arrogantly contemptuous of the civilisation of the East. Still further, it was morally unscrupulous. Consider the past few years—the unrighteous alliance of France, Russia, and Germany against Japan at the close of the Chinese war, and the Russian seizure of Port Arthur which followed; or, again, the brutal Russian massacres during the Allies' march on Peking, and their duplicity in Manchuria and Corea. These events had burnt like hot iron into the hearts of the Eastern peoples. They had shown the real 'White Peril.' But now Japan's victory had proved to the world that the East is not a wilderness of 'dying nations.' All Asia was awaking from the sleep of centuries, and at last, freed from the peril of further aggression, she would develop a civilisation of her own less material and mercenary than that which the West had endeavoured to enforce."

I have taken an example from the professors; let me take one from the undergraduates. In the Lahore cricket week last year a quarrel took place between two rival colleges, and in the confusion an English professor was hurt. The matter was taken up by the authorities and two undergraduates were rusticated. These were at once made out to be the victims of English tyranny. A large subscription was raised in the course of a day or two, and both students were sent off in triumph, with their full expenses paid, to

Tokio University. The incident had its laughable side, but its conclusion was distinctly significant.

I have given only one or two out of numberless incidents in the past year which show in what direction the tide is turning. What is most remarkable is the fact that the feverish eagerness for news of Japan's victories has reached to the country districts. Even the villagers who take no interest in the peaceful British administration (except when they think it brings them plague or a dry season) talk over the war as they sit in their circles and pass round the *hugga* at night.

All this is happening to-day in loyal Panjab. A single glance at any Bengali or Marathi paper would show to what extreme lengths the disaffected parts of India are carrying their aspirations. The wave of nationalism is rising higher to-day than it has ever done before.

To make clear what form this awakening of the East is taking we must look at the events that are happening from the different standpoints of the Musalman and Hindu. The Musalman, with whom temporal power and religious ascendancy are almost inseparable ideas, regards things in the concrete. Conquest by the sword is to him correlative with success in religion. He sees at the present time the one Great Encroacher on the domain of Islam, the one Kingdom that is the frontier of the West against the East, the one Christian Power which has marched up to the walls of Constantinople itself, the one Empire which all along the Central Asian border has made the Crescent recede—he sees giant Russia crushed and broken, beaten back by a tiny Eastern Power. In recent times before the present war began the hand of God had seemed to him uninterruptedly to favour the West against Islam. He could not understand it, but—it was the Will of God. Many Mohammedans have discussed with me this great difficulty to their faith, and more than one has told me that he regarded it as a “sign of the end of the world”; for strangely enough it is a prominent tradition that just before the end of the world there shall be a great advance of the Christian religion. But now the spell has been broken and a reaction may come carrying with it far-reaching results to missionary work.

A Turkish Consul of long experience in the Nearer East, who has travelled recently far into Asia Minor from Turkey, told me that not only had the official attitude at Constantinople changed in the past year, but that in the interior you could see everywhere the most ignorant villagers "tingling" with the news (to use his own expressive word), scarcely able to suppress their triumph as they spoke to him, a Christian. This has been the experience of other residents in Mohammedan lands whom I have met recently. In India the feeling is not so strong, because, since the Mutiny, the Mohammedans have thrown in their lot with the British Government as their one protection against the Hindu majority. Nevertheless they are in constant communication with their co-religionists, and are feeling the thrill of the new events. The war is regarded as a blow to Christianity and an opportunity for a revival of Islam, and with a revival of Islam will come greater antipathy to the West.

In the Middle East, the East of the Buddhist and the Hindu, we breathe another atmosphere. We leave the hard clear-cut Deism of Islam and are immersed in the vague abstractions of pantheistic thought. Here the great dread in the past has not been so much the conquest of territory by Western Powers, though this too is resented, as the contemptuous overthrow of their old customs, their old philosophies and religions. Rightly or wrongly the Eastern feels that in this non-material side of civilisation he is the superior, and the European little short of being a Vandal. Any acknowledgment by a Western of this "superiority" of the East becomes a household word in India. My M. A. class at Delhi, all Hindus, were never tired of quoting to me an appreciation by Schopenhauer of Eastern philosophy, and Mrs. Besant was continually brought forward as a notable European convert. They have a dream of the past, of a Golden Age of Asia when India was the spiritual guide of China and Japan, and a peaceful religious calm brooded over the three kingdoms. If any European will bow down and worship this golden image of a golden Eastern past, there is no extravagance of adoration that will not be offered, and this not only by the cultured few, but by the emotional, conservative people who

are all intensely "national" in their implicit belief in the greatness of their ancient philosophies and creeds. It is this innate national pride—not of territory or dominion, but of the intellectual and spiritual supremacy of their past—which has given the watchword "Back to the Vedas" such power as to be the rallying cry of multitudes who scarcely know one word of the Sacred Books themselves.

It will be easy to understand that Hindu conservatism has been immensely strengthened by the victories of Japan. The Western superiority, it is felt, even on the material side of mechanical skill in war, has been proved to be false; Japan has beaten the European with his own weapons. It remains for other Eastern kingdoms to follow Japan's lead. Then it may happen that once again Asia may become one. India from her spiritual treasures will supply the thought, China the ethics, and Japan the art and expression of a wholly Eastern civilisation, untainted by the coarseness and materialism of the West.

These ideals of the renaissance of India and the unification of Asia form the basis of the appeal which the brilliant Japanese writer Kakasu Okakura is making in his books *The Ideals of the East* and the *Awakening of Japan*, books which are being widely read and studied in India. Let me quote connected passages from the latter book:

"The decadence of Asia began with the Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century. The classic civilisations of China and India . . . evolved a culture comparable with that of the era of highest enlightenment in Greece and Rome, one which even foreshadowed the trend of advanced thought in Europe. Buddhism bound together the Confucian and Vedic ideals in a single web, and brought about the unification of Asia. A vast stream of communication flowed throughout the extent of the whole Buddha-land. Kingdoms often exchanged courtesies, while peace married art to art. While Christendom was struggling with mediævalism the Buddha-land was a great garden of culture. But, alas! the Mongol horsemen under Jenghiz Khan were to lay waste these areas of civilisation and make of them a desert like that out of which they themselves came. . . . The peaceful and self-contained nature of Eastern civilisation has been ever weak to resist foreign aggression. We have not only permitted the Mongol to destroy the unity of Asia but have allowed him to crush the life of Indian and Chinese culture. From both the thrones of Peking and Delhi the descen-

dants of Jenghiz Khan perpetuated a system of despotism contrary to the traditional policies of the lands they had subjugated. . . . Bereft of the spirit of initiative the Chinese and the Indian of to-day have come to prostrate themselves before the inevitable . . . The night of Asia which enshrouds them is not perhaps without its own subtle beauty. It reminds us of the deep glorious nights we know so well in the East—listless like wonder, serene like sadness, opalescent like love. One may touch the stars behind the veil where man meets spirit."

This is his picture of the past. All the misery of the long dark centuries is attributed to foreign invasion. As for the present, he regards the Russian advance as a kind of second Mongol raid, marked by all the earlier barbarities. The Siberian Cossacks and Tartars are "grim descendants of Jenghiz and Tamerlane." He closes the book with this passage :

"In the atrocities committed in Peking and Manchuria and the recent horrors of Kishinef the world may see what is to be expected from the Muscovite soldiery. . . . In the West international morality remains far below the standard to which individual morality has attained. Aggressive nations have no conscience, and all chivalry is forgotten in the persecution of weaker races. He who has not the courage and the strength to defend himself is bound to be enslaved. What mean these strange combinations which Europe displays—the hospital and the torpedo, the Christian missionary and Imperialism ? Such contradictions did not exist in the ancient civilisation of the East. Such were not the ideals of the Japanese Restoration, such is not the goal of her reformation. The night of the Orient, which had hidden us in its folds, has been lifted, but we find the world still in the dusk of humanity."

These conceptions of Eastern history and Asiatic unity are driven home for the Indian reader by a preface written for the first of Okakura's books by "Nivedita of Ramkrishna Vivekânanda, Bagh Bazaar, Calcutta," a Western lady who has given up historic Christianity to become for all practical purposes a Hindu. Her words are offensive to Christian ears ; I only quote them because it is extremely important at the present time to know quite clearly what ideas are being sedulously promulgated in India :

"Within the last ten years," she writes, "by the genius of a wandering monk—Swami Vivekânanda—orthodox Hinduism has

again become aggressive, as in the Asokan period. For six or seven years past it has been sending missionaries (*sic*) into Europe and America. . . . It would almost seem as if it were the destiny of imperial peoples to be conquered in their turn by the religious ideals of their subjects. To quote the great Indian thinker just mentioned : 'As the creed of the down-trodden Jew has held half the earth during eighteen centuries, it seems not unlikely that that of the despised Hindu may yet dominate the world.' In some such event is the hope of Northern Asia. The process that took a thousand years at the beginning of our era may now, with the aid of steam and electricity, repeat itself in a few decades, and the world may again witness the Indianising of the East. . . . The Author of this book has talked in vain if he has not conclusively proved that Asia the Great Mother is for ever One."

Unfortunately it is these high-sounding phrases and unhistorical generalisations that are the very breath of life to the Indian student, who is still dreaming his dreams as he has ever done, and who cares little for hard, concrete fact. Place side by side with Okakura's view of history one sentence only from Vincent Smith, the great archæologist and scientific historian ; remember that the period of which he is speaking is a period represented by Okakura as the culmination of India's Golden Age. Here are Vincent Smith's own words :

"India was exempt from foreign aggression for nearly 500 years, from 528 A.D. to the raid of Mahmud of Ghazni, and *was left free to work out her own destiny in her own fashion*. She cannot claim to have achieved success. The history of this long period is, on the whole, a *melancholy record of degradation and decadence in government and literature, religion and art*, with the exception of temple architecture."

The ultimate barrenness of the Buddhist civilisation, which followed so rapidly its glorious beginning, is here traced to its true source—the inherent weakness of the Buddhist creed and its appalling degradation in later Hindu idolatry. The decadence of India was due to internal causes, and had begun long before the foreign Mogul invasions. These, destructive as they were, alone saved India from utter exhaustion and decay, and gave her a new virility.

But it is too much to expect the keenly emotional and

sensitive Hindus to take at once this coldly impartial view of their own history. With the hope, newly awakened, that India may once again dominate the religious thought of Asia, with Western prestige weakened and their own Eastern conservatism strengthened, there is little doubt that every scheme for a revival of Hinduism will first be tried before Christianity is seen to be the one universal religion. The Arya Samaj in North India will probably receive great accessions of strength, and shape the form of the revival of Hinduism with its watchword "Back to the Vedas." How little spiritual and moral depth there is likely to be in the movement, may be judged from the following words of one of its presidents at Lahore :

"We do not believe in original sin. The sources of sin are simply the senses coupled with the mind. The Vedas alone tell how to be pure and clear from sin. The Vedic religion alone tells every mortal man the rules of making pure the senses."

Then follow the rules of moral purification, of which the first is as follows :

"Inhale long breaths early in the morning on rising ; exhale the foul air of sleep : do this many times with meditation. When you have cleared your senses of impurity in this way, invoke the Divine Name on each organ of sense in turn. This will make you pure in every part of your body and soul."

Reform in Hinduism to-day is bound down by two dead weights, the idolatry practised by the masses, and the artificial interpretation of the Vedas which leads to a religious barrenness among the educated. The Vedas belong to the very infancy of human thought, a great part being taken up with antiquated ritual and the worship of the powers of nature. To allegorise them and explain them in a non-natural sense is simply to put "new wine into old bottles" with the inevitable consequence. Yet this process of allegorising undoubtedly will have, for a generation or two, a supreme fascination in India, just as neo-Platonism did at Alexandria in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The real strength of these movements will rest on their political side—the racial antipathy to Europe, the desire to be independent like Japan, the dream of a unified Asia, the

glamour of the Indian Golden Age, the revolt against Europeanisation. These aspirations and antipathies will assume a religious colour and expression (without this in India they would be impotent), but their real interest will be national and political. Of what a Christian means by religion—spirituality, humility, penitence, longing for forgiveness, thirst for the living God—there will be but little. The attempt to revive Hinduism will be made, and will fail. Yet there will come with it a stirring of the waters. It will help to awaken the masses from their sleep of centuries; and it is possible that even a period of active antipathy to Christianity may in the long run be a better seed time for the faith than one of passive indifference and torpor.

The description here given of Indian "nationalism" from the standpoint of the Musalman and Hindu would be grievously incomplete if it did not take count of one of the most important developments of modern times. Owing to the settled government of many generations and the rapid communication between province and province India has at last become a political unity. There has been also a wide growth of religious tolerance due to the spread of education. Still further, the study of European history and English literature has awakened in many Indian minds a love of country rising above the narrower love of caste and sect. This higher patriotism has been deepened and strengthened by the spectacle of Japan. They see that patriotism can win triumphs in the East as well as in the West, and a passionate love of India has been awakened in their own hearts. This love of country is one of the noblest characteristics of the more highly educated Indians to-day. They would, I fully believe, make the greatest sacrifices to see India a united nation. It is significant that some of them are already looking wistfully towards Christianity as a possible ground of that union. The plant of patriotism is very young and tender (among the masses religious feuds are still only prevented by the strong hand of the State), but it is growing rapidly, and when it is grown it may cover the land. It would be a grave calamity if this true love of country were misunderstood either by Government in the sphere of politics or by missionaries in

their dealings with the Indian Christian community. England and the English Church owe too much to the struggle for national liberty in the past to grudge that liberty to India and Indian Christians in the present.

I have, in this paper, tried to trace the trend of the new movement in the East. I have not attempted to draw conclusions. That could only be done successfully by far older and more experienced hands. But there is one longing I cannot help expressing with all earnestness, though I do so with the greatest diffidence.

Is it practicable and possible that in the cold weather of 1906 a Mission of Brotherhood and Help to the Church in India *as a whole*, to English, Eurasian, and Indian, may either be prepared for or carried into effect? India is that part of our Empire which has been most affected by the war. We are beginning a new era in Asia, wherein events are moving rapidly, and opportunities affecting many millions of human lives may be lost or won. The sleep of the East has been broken; for centuries past there has not been such an awakening. The tide, alas! at present seems running towards the accentuation of racial differences. The Indian Church itself is becoming restless and impatient with the sense of being fettered to the West and kept in leading-strings too long. On every side political questions are absorbing men's attention and drawing them away from religion. We need to be recalled as a whole Church to those spiritual gifts which are independent of politics or race, above all to that most excellent gift, divine charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtue—that charity which “beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things,” and which “never faileth.” A purely spiritual mission of the best clergy and laity (I would emphasise the word “laity”) that our dear mother Church can provide, would deepen the life of Christian India and draw us all together in one Body, so that our witness to the millions around would be “in spirit and in power.” There are devoted Christian men who have spent half their life in India but have now retired, men who love India, and are loved in India, civil servants, army officers, missionaries, chaplains, and others. Surely from these a body of earnest, ardent Churchmen

could be selected, whose names would carry weight, and who would rejoice with an intense joy at the possibility of returning to old familiar scenes on such a spiritual mission! These would form a nucleus, and with them could go others who had never been to India before but would, none the less, be welcomed by the warm-hearted Indian people, coming as they would do with no political bias but simply in self-sacrificing brotherhood and love. With good, tried leaders and the way prepared by intercession, the good results, in God's providence, might be more than we could dare to ask or think, both to our Cantonments and Civil Lines, our Indian Christian congregations and our Schools and Colleges, and not least to those great multitudes who are still seeking for the true faith.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE BAPTISM OF PURDAH WOMEN IN INDIA BY DEACONESSSES

THIS question was broached in an article headed "Baptism within the Purdah" which appeared in the July number of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*. It is one of much practical interest and importance. As my name has been quoted in connection with it, I am glad to take the opportunity which the Editor courteously offers me of expressing my views upon it.

It cannot be correctly maintained that we have precedents for the baptism of women by deaconesses in the primitive Church. We have conclusive evidence that they assisted in the baptism of adult catechumens; but that is a very different thing. In the early centuries of the Church baptism was usually performed by immersion, and this in the case of females necessitated the presence of female attendants. It was the business of the deaconesses to unrobe the women candidates, and even in part to apply the Chrism (sacred oil), but it is abundantly evident that in the Catholic Church they did not baptize. The Apostolic Constitutions;¹ expressly forbid women to baptize, and no exception is made in favour of deaconesses. Among certain sections of the Montanists, at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, there were so-called women bishops and women priests, and such female ministers no doubt baptized. But this irregularity is reprobated by the orthodox. Tertullian, in spite of his own subsequent Montanist tendencies, condemns such customs in his usual strong language.

On the other hand, notwithstanding all this, it is the case that even in the Catholic Church of early ages baptisms performed by women were not altogether unknown.

¹ Lib. III. 9.

These may, however, be said to have been the exceptions which proved the rule. Apparently they were cases of persons—probably mostly babes—in imminent danger of death, and where no authorised male minister was to be had. Thus Isidore of Hispala is referred to by St. Augustine as saying that persons baptized by women are not to be re-baptized. And Joannes Moschus, while saying that it is contrary to the canons for women to baptize, yet makes an exception for cases of the last extremity. In the twelfth century Hugo de S. Victore speaks of the validity of baptism by women as a still disputed question.¹

It is well known that the Church of Rome allows baptism by midwives, or others who are present at a birth, in cases where it is unlikely that a child will survive. The Church of England has not formulated anything on the subject; but cases of baptism of new-born infants by women not unfrequently occur, and the charity of the Church suffers, and on the whole approves, if it does not actually authorise them. The conclusion we arrive at therefore is that while baptism by women was not recognised in the early ages of the Church, there was a certain amount of tolerance of the practice in the case of persons who but for the irregular intervention of women would have died without the sacrament; but neither in early nor later times have we reason to believe that the administration of baptism was regarded as one of the special functions of a deaconess.

We must then give up any attempt to defend the practice of baptism of women by deaconesses on the ground of ancient precedent; for no such precedent exists. Other more satisfactory grounds may, however, perhaps be found. Let us proceed to inquire into them.

In the first place, it may be asked who are the persons who have authority to celebrate, or sanction the celebration of, the initiatory rite of the Christian Church.

The theory of the early Church undoubtedly was that all authority to celebrate sacraments, and indeed perform any ministerial functions, was derived ultimately from the Bishop (or in earliest days the apostolic order). "It is

¹ See Article "Baptism" in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

not lawful," says St. Ignatius, "either to baptize or celebrate the Eucharist without the Bishop." By which he means, of course, without his authority, consent, direction, or approval. Tertullian¹ and St. Jerome² assert that presbyters and deacons have no power to baptize without the command and authority of the Bishop. St. Ambrose³ says "That though presbyters do baptize, yet they derive their authority from their Superior."

Now if this theory of ultimate sacramental authority is accepted does it not follow from it that, within certain limits, a large amount of discretion must necessarily be held to be vested in the Bishop as to the persons to whom he will, or will not, commit the ministration of the sacramental rites for which he is responsible? Power to celebrate the sacrament of the Eucharist is, under the Bishop, confined by long prescription to the Order of Presbyters. The administration of baptism, it is well known, has at certain periods and in certain localities (e.g. especially Milan) been retained by Bishops to themselves. Now it is universally granted to Presbyters and Deacons as delegates of the Bishop.⁴ It is obvious, however, that the discretion of the Bishop has played a large part in the determination of the question, To whom shall the dispensing of the initiatory rite of the Church be committed? Can we say that if Bishops so willed it would not be within their discretion to extend the power of the administration of baptism to deaconesses? A deaconess is a responsible officer of the Church. Is there indeed any essential difference between the office of a deacon and that of a deaconess? I believe myself that a deaconess is merely a female deacon, and that the things which a deacon may do it would not be wrong in principle for a deaconess to do. Not all things, however, that are lawful are expedient. There is good and sufficient reason for holding that it is not expedient for a woman deacon to minister publicly in the worship of the congregation, to dispense the cup in the Eucharist, or to preach. But

¹ *De Bapt.* c. 17.

² *Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer.*

³ *De Sacram.* Lib. III. c. 1.

⁴ In the English Prayer Book there is still an interesting indication of the theory that the Bishop is the responsible guardian of the administration of baptism in the first rubric in the office for "Ministration of baptism to such as are of riper years."

it appears to me that the mere fact that in the early periods of the Church's history, and in the circumstances which then obtained, deaconesses did not baptize is not in itself a sufficient ground for saying that in no age of the Church and in no circumstances whatsoever shall they be permitted to do so. I believe that under certain restrictions and in certain circumstances, without any breach of fundamental principle, a delegated authority to baptize might be rightly conferred upon selected deaconesses by that same episcopal authority and discretion which saw fit to withhold it from them in early days. If this can be conceded, the practical question which remains resolves itself into this: Are our circumstances here in India in the matter of the evangelisation of the great non-Christian population of such a character as to call for a relaxation of the old rule? Are they such as to justify the Bishops of the Church in India, cautiously and under due limitations, in authorising in certain cases the baptism by deaconesses of female converts within the purdah?

I believe myself that our circumstances are such as to justify this step—in spite of the lack of ancient precedent, and the unfavourable judgment against baptisms by women pronounced by some venerable fathers of primitive times.

The truth is that the Church has to deal with problems in India which in spite of her nineteen centuries of experience are new to her. The seclusion of women is of course a state of things with which she was to some degree familiar in her early days, but not such a seclusion as we have in India. Neither in ancient Greece nor Rome nor Asia had she to face anything approaching the rigidity of the Zenana system as it prevails in India.

New problems call for new solutions, and the Church, if she is to be a living Church, must not be afraid of new solutions. The difficulty of how to deal with Zenana converts lies heavily upon the hearts of many of those who have the responsibility of the conduct of that branch of our missions which touches Indian women of the higher social grades. In the revival of the order of deaconesses and in the recognition of some among them as fit persons to be entrusted with authority to baptize, may we not find the solution we seek?

There are few questions more painfully perplexing, as I know from my own experience, than those which arise in the case of married women of the higher grades in India who through the instrumentality of the Zenana missionary have been in heart converted to the Christian religion, and who desire to confess their faith. "What," asks the earnest Zenana missionary, "is to be done for poor So-and-so? I have taught her patiently for months or years. She has responded to my efforts. I cannot doubt but that God's Spirit has dealt with her. She well knows the facts and principles of our blessed religion. She simply and sincerely believes in our Lord as Saviour, and she desires to serve Him and confess Him. What am I to tell her? Shall I counsel her to secretly leave her home, to desert her husband and children, and run away to the Church for baptism? Shall I tell her to steal away some dark night and bring her young children with her? Am I to tell her that for Christ's sake she must not regard her marriage vows, nor her loyalty to her husband, nor her household and maternal duties—religion makes right what would otherwise be wrong? Or on the other hand shall I say to her, 'Hold to your convictions but remain in your home. You will not be justified in disregarding one set of duties—duties to which you have already pledged yourself—for the sake of another set. Be a Christian in heart though you cannot be a confessed one. Perchance God in His goodness will one day open the way for you to obey Christ's command to receive the sacred waters of the new birth. Meanwhile wait and be patient. Enough that you are a Christian in heart.' " In how many such distressing debates have I joined, weighing and re-weighing the arguments which may be adduced on either side, halting between two opinions, feeling either conclusion painful, either conclusion unsatisfactory, and to the end only hoping and praying for light which hardly comes. Is there a possible solution as yet untried? Not in all cases, no doubt, but in some at any rate, may we not venture to hope for a conclusion of peace in the proposals here thrown out? If the converted wife can so far obtain the consent of the unconverted husband as to induce him to allow a quiet administration of Christ's sacrament privately within the walls of

the Zenana by some discreetly chosen and duly authorised female minister, whose act will entail no necessary breach of caste, and need cause no change in domestic relations, may not that distressing conflict of duties to which I have referred above be obviated in such a way as will alike comfort conscience, satisfy Church order, and be in accordance with the will of God?

ALFRED LUCKNOW.

LESSONS FROM THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK

THE publication of Professor Bury's great *Life of St. Patrick* has called the attention of students of history the world over to Ireland's patron saint. He is no longer, for the non-Irish world, the half or wholly mythical centre of legends, some puerile, some picturesque, but a genuinely historical personality, a great missionary, the founder of a Church which, in proportion to its numbers, has from the time of Columba "laboured more abundantly" in propagating the Gospel than any other national Church in Christendom. Hitherto while there have been many scholarly monographs on persons and places and documents connected directly or indirectly with St. Patrick, these have appealed only to readers specially interested in Celtic history and antiquities. Until the other day it would have been impossible to name any one single book dealing in a comprehensive spirit with St. Patrick's work and place in history. Even Todd's *St. Patrick*, which appeared in 1864, was rather a collection and index of history material than a history in the true sense of the word. We have had no lack of specialists ; brilliant, famous specialists ; but from the very nature of his work a specialist usually attaches an exaggerated importance to his own subject. He can hardly help doing so unless he is an unenthusiastic amateur, and so no scholar at all. The result has been that, up to the present, he who would learn for himself the certainty as to St. Patrick has been confronted with a confused mass of ancient authorities, and, in addition, many volumes of special studies upon various portions of these authorities.

"Grant I have mastered learning's crabbed text,
Still there's the comment."

It is no marvel that many inquirers have turned away from the whole subject in despair, and have found total

disbelief in St. Patrick's existence a tempting substitute for a seemingly uninviting study. At last there has come a master builder who can make use of the materials gathered by others, a teacher who combines a world-historian's sense of proportion with a specialist's mastery of detail. And that is why I, as a very humble contributor to Patrician literature, have been asked to try to draw for the readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST* some lessons from the life of St. Patrick.

It will of course be understood that in the brief sketch of St. Patrick's life which I give here I follow, for the most part, Professor Bury's guidance. I may also be permitted to make use of what I have myself written elsewhere.

First, it is proper that something should be said about the authorities from whom our information is derived.

In the first place, we have St. Patrick's own undisputed writings: The *Confession*, the *Epistle against Coroticus*—these are in Latin—and the *Hymn*, in Irish, usually called the *Lorica* or *Breastplate*. These are very short, but of primary importance.

The hymn indeed gives us no historical information, but is significant as a reflection of the spiritual atmosphere in which the writer lived.

When we read this hymn how strangely far apart seem the spirit of his age and of ours. Some, perhaps, might think that the circumstances of his time were more remote. We who live in "a land of settled government" where injustice, except under legal forms, is publicly discouraged, can hardly understand how life was endurable in a country in which murder and outrage and pillage only ceased while the murderers and robbers were resting themselves. Yet such a condition of things is not unknown even now in the less civilised parts of the world, in Europe itself. But surely the psychological atmosphere in which intelligent Irishmen live to-day, as compared with that in which St. Patrick lived, presents a far greater contrast than do the social conditions of the two epochs. Listen to this:—

"I invoke therefore all these forces . . .

Against incantations of false prophets,

Against black laws of paganism,

Against false laws of heresy,
 Against deceit of idolatry,
 Against spells of women and smiths and druids,
 Against all knowledge that is forbidden the human soul."

As we read this and feel how little it means to us, here and now, does it not seem as if the human soul had passed from out a murky cave, with its suggestive shadows and the vague terrors of the darkness, into, we cannot say the noon-day, but at least into the clear starlight and the ample expanse of sky which overwhelms the mind with only one thought of awe, the Creator and His infinity, our hearts meanwhile assuring us that the infinite Creator is our Father.

It is a commonplace of ethics that fear is the parent of cruelty. When people are in a panic they are capable of any savagery ; and, similarly, superstition, a diseased imagination in things of religion, has a natural tendency to produce harshness and intolerance in those who are affected by it. It is no discredit to a man to be superstitious in a superstitious age ; but that, after all, is an accidental quality in the character. St. Patrick's character had, as we shall see, in a far more noticeable degree, qualities of the eternal sort, that would make him admirable in any possible age of the world.

The *Confession* is so named from its closing words : " This is my confession before I die " ; but it is not a confession of sins, like St. Augustine's famous work, although the writer evidently possesses that essential requisite for every preacher, a deep sense of personal unworthiness ; rather it is a confession of thanks and praise to God : " I render thanks to Him who hath strengthened me in all things, so as not to hinder me from the journey on which I had resolved." *Deo Gratias* is the dominant note of Patrick's writings, as it was the constant expression on his lips. As addressed to men the *Confession* is an *Apologia pro vita sua*, only that in Patrick's mind his life was summed up in one fact, his mission work in Ireland, and that not in its detailed history, but in its net spiritual result. He wrote with two classes of readers in his mind ; on the one hand, those, whether in Ireland or in Britain, who opposed his work—to these he protests his assurance of the guiding hand

of God—and, on the other hand, those to whom he alludes as his “brethren” and “fellow-servants” and “sons.” For these last the *Confession* was intended as “a legacy,” something by which he might be remembered, “to strengthen and confirm their faith.”

It is most important to keep before us the limited scope of the *Confession*, and the spirit in which it was written, when we are using it as history material. Patrick seems when writing it, at the close of his life, to have regarded dates and places *sub specie aeternitatis*. They have no value in his mind, except as concerns their spiritual or moral significance. He notes his age—fifteen—when “a sin and offence of his youth” was committed; and he records the length of time that elapsed—thirty years—between his confession of that sin and the supreme crisis when the memory of it was revived, with the object of effecting his ruin. He tells us how old he was when he was carried away captive, because then his conversion began; and, alone of all the places which he had visited, he mentions “the Wood of Fochlad, which is nigh unto the Western Sea,” because thence sounded out the constraining cry, “Come.” It follows that while the positive statements of the *Confession* must be accepted as of primary biographical importance, yet no convincing argument can be based on its silence. And, further, St. Patrick’s defective education made him, as he says himself, “unable to make his meaning plain in few words”; so that the *Confession* is not only snort, but verbose and obscure.

The *Epistle against Coroticus* was written, perhaps, a little earlier than the *Confession*. Coroticus was a chieftain, or petty prince, who is now generally thought to have ruled in Dumbarton, over the Britons of Strathclyde. The older view is that he was a Welsh prince who gave his name to Cardiganshire. This Coroticus or Ceretic “represented the Roman defence of North Britain.” It appears that in company with heathen Scots and “apostate Picts” he raided Ireland, probably co. Antrim, about the year A.D. 459, as Professor Bury conjectures. His heathen allies attacked some of St. Patrick’s Christians; the usual massacre, pillage, and carrying captive ensued. The crime seemed peculiarly atrocious in that it took place during the

ceremonies of a solemn administration of Holy Baptism, and that it was done with the connivance, if not the approval, of Coroticus and his soldiers, who were nominally Christians and Roman citizens. The immediate occasion of the extant letter is best described in Patrick's own words :

"On the day following that on which the newly-baptized, in white array, were anointed—it was still fragrant on their foreheads, while they were cruelly butchered and slaughtered with the sword by the above-mentioned persons—I sent a letter with a holy presbyter, whom I had taught from his infancy, clergy accompanying him, with a request that they would allow us some of the booty, or of the baptized captives whom they had taken. They jeered at them."

The letter is intended as a public denunciation of Coroticus and his soldiers to the Christian community in Strathclyde.

To these three undoubted writings may be added the *Sayings of Patrick*, three or four sentences found in the celebrated *Book of Armagh*, which are generally admitted to be fragments of genuine tradition.

Passing now to the writings of others about St. Patrick, the earliest document we possess is a Latin *Hymn* in his honour composed by St. Sechnall or Secundinus, one of Patrick's fellow-workers, who died A.D. 447. Unfortunately it gives us no definite information.

The earliest extant works of a biographical nature are the *Memoranda of Tírechán*, a Bishop "attached to some community in North Connaught," written about A.D. 670, with additions contributed before A.D. 846, by Ferdomnach, the scribe of the *Book of Armagh*, and the *Life by Muirchu*, who wrote in co. Wicklow, about A.D. 700. These documents are in Latin and are derived from earlier sources, written and oral, among which, as Professor Bury has proved, were *Acts of St. Patrick*, in Irish. Some such early Irish *Acts* also underlie the *Hymn of St. Fiacc*, written, "not much anterior to A.D. 800." There are also undoubtedly early elements in the later *Lives*. These need not be here specially enumerated.

Every reader of the New Testament knows that there were Christians in Rome before St. Paul went thither "to

impart to them some spiritual gift to the end that they might be established;" and yet early Christian writers express the truth when they speak of the Church of Rome as having been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul. That is to say, it was by the ministry of those apostles that the various congregations of Christians in the city of Rome were given a definite organisation, made a church, brought into line with the earlier organised churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, &c.

In exactly the same way St. Patrick founded the Church in Ireland. He was the instrument by means of which the scattered Christians in Ireland, individuals and small congregations, chiefly in the south, were brought into touch, as an organised church, with the rest of Western Christendom. It is perhaps the most important contribution to Church history in Professor Bury's book that he has made this fact clear, and established it beyond the possibility of contradiction.

The problem involved may be put thus: Among the differences, in externals, between Celtic Christianity and that of the Continent there were two which were considered important, *i.e.* the mode of calculating Easter, and the form of the clerical tonsure. The controversy was settled, as far as England was concerned, at the Synod of Whitby, A.D. 664, when the Continental party triumphed. The struggle naturally continued longer in Ireland—about fifty years, in fact.

The question then is: Did Patrick introduce into Ireland, in his presentation of the faith, these Celtic peculiarities, or were they in Ireland before he came, as a characteristic of the sporadic Christianity already existing there, and so prevalent that he was either unable to suppress them, or unwilling to divert his energy from the work of evangelisation to polemics?

We are compelled to accept the second alternative. Many considerations prove that Christianity had a footing in Ireland before the fifth century; how long before we cannot tell. There were Christians there, scattered amongst the pagan population, just as there were English Churchmen in North America, scattered amongst the Red Indians, long before the S.P.G. began to develop the

Anglican Church in that continent in A.D. 1696. This early Irish Christianity was in all likelihood derived from Britain. Now although Patrick was a British Celt by birth, his education, especially his theological and ecclesiastical education, had been imparted to him in Gaul, at Lérins and at Auxerre. It is quite inconceivable that Patrick should have thought differently about the Paschal question and the tonsure from his Gallican preceptors and fellow students, "the saints of the Lord," whose faces he so earnestly longed to see once more as he felt the approach of death. We can, moreover, the more easily account for Patrick's acquiescence in the Irish peculiarities when we remember that during his lifetime the burning question in the Western Church was not uniformity in ecclesiastical order and discipline, but the great doctrinal and philosophical Pelagian controversy about freewill and original sin.

The date of St. Patrick's birth has been fixed, approximately, by Professor Bury to A.D. 389. He came of a clerical family, his father, Calpornius, being a deacon, and his grandfather, Potitus, a priest. His mother's name was Concessa. In addition to his office in the Church Calpornius "belonged to the middle class of landed proprietors, and was a decurion or member of the municipal council of a Roman town." Patrick more than once emphasises the fact that he had been born into, and could in later life have resumed, a good social position, *ingenuitas*. He even once calls it *nobilitas*. In any case his Roman citizenship was ever present to his mind. Reverence for Rome, the Empire as much as the See—the two conceptions were then hardly distinguished—appear plainly in his writings; and among the *Sayings of Patrick* there is one, which although not accepted as genuine by Professor Bury, expresses well Patrick's sentiment on this point: "Church of the Scots, nay rather of the Romans. As ye are Christians, so be ye Romans." The mediæval conception of The Holy Roman Empire expresses one of the ideals in which Patrick lived. Professor Ramsay has brought home to our minds that it was St. Paul's consciousness of his Roman citizenship which, humanly speaking, fired him with the design of making the Roman Empire holy. We

must think of St. Patrick as influenced by similar feelings, and as gladly conscious that he was bringing the outlying island of Hiberio into the now Holy Roman Empire of Western Europe.

Like Saul Paulus, the Hebrew Roman, the Celtic Roman of whom we are now speaking bore names indicative of his double nationality, Patricius Sucat. A third name, Magonus, is also recorded; so that "possibly his full style . . . was Patricius Magonus Sucatus."

The name of his native town is spelt in the manuscripts of the *Confession*, Banavem Taberniae, or Taburniae (the form Bannavem is found in the *Book of Armagh*, the scribe of which had a habit of doubling consonants). Professor Bury, following in part recent conjectures, affirms positively that a name Bannaventa underlies this strange compound. It cannot be said that this explanation is free from difficulties. And the same may be said of his suggestion that the town in question was situated "in south-western Britain, perhaps in the regions of the lower Severn." Hitherto antiquarians have generally inclined to the opinion that it was close to Dumbarton on the Clyde. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this latter view, but the question is not suitable for discussion here, and, in any case, is of no great consequence.

When Patrick was sixteen years of age a raid was made by Irish freebooters upon the district in which he lived. Let us hear how he speaks of it.

"I knew not the true God, and I was led into captivity to Ireland with many thousands of persons, in accordance with our deservings, because we departed away from God, and kept not His commandments, and were not obedient to our priests who were wont to admonish us for our salvation."

From later references we infer that, although the farm-servants were also carried off, yet his parents escaped. As regards the tone of Patrick's boyhood, it would be unreasonable to accept literally his self-depreciatory statements made here and elsewhere. If the seed of eternal life had not been already sown in him servitude in a heathen land could not have quickened it into life. The prayers that he repeated in the land of his captivity so fervently,

and with an ever-deepening sense of their meaning, must have been learnt at home ; and he must also have commenced there the rudiments of other learning, for he tells us that his education had been interrupted by his captivity, "My sins prevented me from mastering what I had read through before."

His captors sold him to a man named Miliucc or Milchu, who employed him as a swineherd. This is Patrick's own account of his six years' captivity :

"Now, after I arrived in Ireland, tending flocks was my daily occupation ; and constantly I used to pray in the daytime. Love of God and the fear of Him increased more and more, and faith grew and the spirit was roused, so that in one day I would say as many as a hundred prayers, and at night nearly as many, even while I was out in woods and on the mountain side. Before daybreak I used to be roused to prayer, and I felt no hurt, whether there were snow, frost or rain ; nor was there any sluggishness in me—as I now see, because then the spirit was fervent within me."

The mountain mentioned in this passage has hitherto, by an unvarying tradition, supported by the earliest *Lives*, been identified with Slemish in co. Antrim. Professor Bury is now certain that it is Croagh Patrick in co. Mayo. The evidence which has emboldened Professor Bury to do violence to the constant and unquestioned claim of co. Antrim to have been the scene of St. Patrick's captivity is the passage in the *Confession* where Patrick relates the dream which determined him to return to Ireland.

"I thought . . . I heard the voice of them who lived beside the Wood of Fochlut, which is nigh unto the Western Sea. And thus they cried, as with one mouth, 'We beseech thee, holy youth, to come and again walk amongst us as before.'"

Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut venias et adhuc ambulas inter nos. I have given the last clause as Professor Bury translates it. Now the Wood of Fochlut, or Fochlad, was in co. Mayo ; and when I was myself engaged on an attempt to extract from St. Patrick's own writings, considered by themselves, and without reference to any other document, the facts of his life, I felt, and still feel, convinced that these were not merely dream words but constitute a

proof that Patrick had some familiarity, whenever acquired, with the Wood of Fochlut before he escaped from the shores of Ireland. Consequently at first I adopted for *adhuc* a similar rendering to that given by Professor Bury; but I was, and am, so impressed with the practical unanimity of other evidence as to co. Antrim having been the scene of Patrick's captivity that I finally preferred the rendering, "Come hither and walk among us." St. Patrick's Latin style is so inaccurate that this translation cannot be called inadmissible. The only ancient authority that Professor Bury can quote in support of his opinion is a Life of St. Patrick by one Probus, who wrote in the tenth century.

The story of Patrick's escape from Miliucc may be told in his own words; there is no independent record of it.

"One night I heard in my sleep a voice saying to me, 'Thou fastest well; who art soon to go to thy fatherland.' And, again, after a very short time, I heard the answer of God saying to me, 'Lo, thy ship is ready.' And it was not near at hand, but was, perhaps, distant two hundred miles. And I had never been there, nor did I know anyone there. And thereupon I shortly took to flight, and left the man with whom I had been for six years, and I came in the strength of God who prospered my way for good, and I met with nothing to alarm me until I reached that ship.

"And on the very day that I arrived the ship left its moorings, and I said that I had wherewith I might sail thence with them, but the shipmaster was angry, and replied harshly with indignation, 'On no account seek to go with us.'

"When I heard this I left them, to go to the hut where I was lodging, and on my way I began to pray, and before I had finished my prayer, I heard one of them shouting loudly after me, 'Come quickly, for these men are calling thee'; and straightway I returned to them.

"And they began to say to me, 'Come, for we receive thee in good faith; make friends with us in any way thou desirest.' And so on that day I refused to enter into a close intimacy with them, on account of the fear of God; but nevertheless I hoped that some of them would come into the faith of Jesus Christ, for they were heathens, and on this account I continued with them; and forthwith we set sail. And after three days we reached land, and journeyed for twenty-eight days through a desert, &c."

It is generally supposed that Wicklow was the port whence Patrick's ship sailed, and that it was in Gaul that

he landed. It must however be noted that the language of the *Confession*—the heavenly voice, “Who art soon to go to thy fatherland”—would lead one to suppose that he sailed to Britain. However this may be, it seems in the highest degree likely that his wanderings, after he escaped from the sailors, are alluded to in the first of the *Sayings of Patrick*: “I had the fear of God as the guide of my journey through Gaul and Italy and also in the islands which are in the Terrene Sea.” Italy here, no doubt, means the districts of Italy bordering on Gaul. There is no evidence that Patrick’s travels, at least at this period of his life, brought him so far as Rome. These wanderings eventually led him to the great monastic establishment which had been recently founded by St. Honoratus in the island of Lérins, opposite Cannes. There is no record of the nature or duration of Patrick’s stay of Lérins, but it is not hard to believe that this season of retirement for prayer and study and meditation and the companionship and sympathy of holy men, was in very truth Patrick’s best preparation for the life of conflict and strenuous endeavour which he was afterwards to lead. Here at Lérins, we may say with confidence, was laid the foundation of that wonderful knowledge of Holy Scripture which makes his writings almost a cento of Biblical phraseology. His citations from the Latin Bible present the characteristics of the text current in southern Gaul rather than of any other region.

We resume the history in Patrick’s own words :

“And again, after a few years, I was in Britain with my family, who received me as a son, and earnestly besought me that at all events now, after the great tribulations which I had undergone, I would not depart from them any whither.”

This visit to Britain is dated conjecturally A.D. 414 or 415 by Professor Bury, who also acutely infers from the expression “as a son” that Patrick’s parents were now no longer alive. Here in Britain came the definite call to work in Ireland—the voice of the dwellers in the Wood of Fochlad—and the project at once excited intense opposition both from Patrick’s relatives and from others, apparently ecclesiastics, older than himself, to whom he alludes as *seniores mei*.

"And many gifts were proffered me with weeping and tears. And I displeased them [*i.e.* my relatives], and also, against my wish, not a few of my elders, but, God being my guide, I did not at all consent or assent to them. It was not my grace, but God who overcometh in me, and He withstood them all, so that I came to the heathen Irish to preach the Gospel, and to endure insults from unbelievers."

It is easy to understand and sympathise with the tearful pleadings of Patrick's family; but the attitude of the *seniores* is incomprehensible, except to those who have had to deal with the perverse prejudices of the anti-mission mind.

"Many were forbidding this embassy. Moreover they were talking amongst themselves behind my back, and saying, 'Why does this fellow thrust himself into danger amongst enemies who have no knowledge of God?'"

The term "enemies," *hostes*, applied here by the *seniores* to the heathen Irish, throws light upon the real ground of their opposition to Patrick's enterprise. At a much later date Augustine of Canterbury was shocked to find among the British clergy—voicing, no doubt, the sentiments of their people—the same implacable hatred of heathens from whose attacks and outrages they had suffered. They absolutely refused to join him in the work of evangelising their Saxon conquerors. If they had spoken out they might have said, Why should these enemies, whose indiscriminating brutality has spared nothing sacred, be enabled to make the best of both worlds? Nay, rather, let them alone, to afford us, when we choose to look down from Abraham's bosom, the exhilarating spectacle of an eternal *auto-da-fé*. Such being the ordinary sentiments of the Christian Celts on foreign missions, well might Patrick himself ask:

"Is it from me that springs that godly compassion which I exercise towards that nation who once took me captive and harried the menservants and maidservants of my father's house?"

Ostensibly, however, the *seniores* based their opposition on Patrick's want of culture—his *rusticitas*, as he himself calls it. Of this he was painfully conscious. "Patrick the sinner, unlearned, as everybody knows," was his self-imposed

style and title. Near the beginning of the *Confession* he says :

"I had long since thought of writing, but I hesitated until now ; for I feared least I should fall under the censure of men's tongues, because I have not studied as have others."

This twofold opposition not unnaturally raised misgivings in Patrick's own mind :

"I did not quickly assent in accordance with what had been shown to me. . . . I did not know what I should do about my position. . . . I did not quickly recognise the grace that was then in me. . . . I did not proceed of my own accord (*sponte*) to Ireland until I was almost worn out."

And, now the question arises, When did he go to Ireland? We may take it as tolerably certain that he returned on this occasion from Britain to Auxerre, and was there ordained deacon by Bishop Amator, who died A.D. 418. We must also accept the well-authenticated fact that he was consecrated Bishop for Ireland in A.D. 432, by Germanus of Auxerre, to carry on the work for which Palladius had been consecrated in A.D. 431, by Pope Celestine. Are we then to suppose that Patrick waited at least fourteen years before attempting to realise "the desire of his soul"? Professor Bury assumes that Patrick could not have gone to Ireland without some official Church sanction. Perhaps not. It is however worth notice that he seems to have done something in the interval which seriously offended the Church authorities in Britain. We may infer from the *Confession* that on three distinct occasions he was the subject of attack from them. There was, in the first place, the opposition made when he originally proposed to go as a missionary to Ireland, to which reference has been already made. Then there was an attack made on him in Britain, in his absence, when his "dearest friend" (*amicissimus meus*) took his part ; and, later still, there was the worst attack of all, after he had been exercising his episcopal office for some time, possibly sixteen years, when the *seniores* "not a few" "came and urged his sins against his laborious episcopate," and when his "dearest friend" betrayed and disgraced him.

The suppression of the name of this "dearest friend" is one of the most tantalising silences in the *Confession*, and illustrates at once the writer's inattention to any facts but those of moral or spiritual significance—the man's name did not matter, his actions did—and also Patrick's essentially chivalrous nature. There is some ground for supposing that it was Germanus himself, from a passage in the *Confession* which refers to the last attack :

"Even he himself had said to me with his own lips, 'Lo, thou art to be raised to the rank of bishop'; of which I was not worthy. But how did it occur to him afterwards to put me to shame publicly before everyone, good and bad, in respect of an [office] which before that he had of his own accord and gladly granted [me], and the Lord too, who is greater than all?"

The passage is somewhat obscure, but this is the most natural translation. It will be remembered that in A.D. 429 Germanus, with Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, was sent to Britain, with the approval of Pope Celestine, to combat the Pelagian heresy. It is tempting to conjecture that the second attack on Patrick was made then, at some gathering of ecclesiastics at which Germanus was present. It is conceivable that the *seniores*, who were then heretic-hunting, charged Patrick with Pelagianism in some form, and that Germanus was able to defend him from personal knowledge of his views.

These observations are intended to suggest that Patrick's evangelising work in Ireland, as distinguished from his organising work, commenced before the year 432. On the one hand, it is difficult to see what ground Patrick would have given the *seniores* for their second attack if he had not *done* something to irritate them; on the other hand, unlearned and uncultured as he was, he must have given Germanus some proof of his special gifts to justify his consecration as missionary bishop, at once, on the death of Palladius.

The fact that this suggestion receives no support from the early *Lives* need not trouble us much. St. Patrick's own writings are the primary authorities available for his history. The later authorities say nothing whatever about the opposition to Patrick from Christians in Britain (and

possibly Ireland also), which we see and feel both in the *Confession* and the *Epistle*; and the chronology of the *Lives* is confessedly most inaccurate. Consequently we are compelled to fit in all the facts as best we can.

In what follows I must content myself with giving the reader the barest possible outline of St. Patrick's work in Ireland. Those who are desirous of fuller information will be amply repaid by the perusal of Professor Bury's careful and brilliant narrative.

Patrick landed, according to the commonly accepted view, in A.D. 432, at the port of Wicklow. At this point the two earliest *Lives* part company. According to Tírechán he bent his steps to Meath; according to Muirchu he journeyed to co. Antrim, the centre of painful and blessed recollections. Muirchu's order is the most attractive. It is possible, though Muirchu does not say so, that Patrick first of all visited the churches in co. Wicklow which Palladius is said to have founded. He then again set sail northward along the coast, and finally came to land in Strangford Lough. After having converted a chieftain named Dichu, he journeyed by land to Slemish, where Miliucc his old master still lived. Patrick's intention had been to reimburse Miliucc for the loss of his slave, and thus conciliate him in favour of the Gospel. But Miliucc heard of his approach, and suspecting some hostile magical device, burnt his house over his head. Patrick beheld from a distance the terrible sight, and returning to Dichu, began regular missionary work in the neighbourhood of Downpatrick. His first church was at Saul (Irish, *sabhall*, a barn) where Dichu granted him a barn as a place of worship.

In Tírechán's narrative Patrick delivers a frontal attack on paganism at Tara, where ruled Loigaire, the High-king of Ireland. He prepared somewhat for this move by converting, through one of his fellow-workers, the son and grandson of Loigaire, Fedilmid and Fortcherm, whose seat was at Trim. It is not necessary to repeat here the marvellous and picturesque tale of Patrick's triumphant contest with the Druids at the royal court. The result, as a matter of fact, was that King Loigaire, who was an

enlightened and civilising monarch, consented to tolerate Christianity in his dominions, although he steadfastly refused to accept the new faith for himself.

The records of Patrick's labours in Leinster and Munster are not so copious as those which tell of the churches he founded in Connaught and Ulster. This may partly be accounted for by the consideration that his work in the south of Ireland was rather a strengthening an already existing Christianity than a breaking of fresh ground. In early times the south of Ireland benefited by its accessibility from Gaul and the more civilised parts of Britain. Also the greater interest that Patrick naturally took in the churches of the north and west, which he had himself "begotten" and nurtured, was no less naturally reciprocated by the objects of his special care.

"We are told that he crossed the Shannon and visited Connaught three times." In the course of the first tour in those parts Patrick visited (or, according to Professor Bury, revisited) the mountain of Crochan Aigli, now Croagh Patrick, and spent there forty days and forty nights in prayer and fasting. As we picture him gazing westwards over the Atlantic, we realise vividly the force of his claim to have preached the Gospel "to the limit beyond which no man dwells," *ubi nemo ultra est*.

It remains to note that the date of the foundation of the church and monastery of Armagh is A.D. 444. This, his favourite church, was built on land given him for the purpose by Daire, king, or one of the kings, of Oriel (south Ulster). Patrick, however, seems to have resigned the bishopric of Armagh in A.D. 457, in favour of his pupil Benignus. He died at Saul on March 17, A.D. 461. Saul and Downpatrick both claim the honour of possessing his grave. Professor Bury decides in favour of the claims of Saul.

I have in this very hurried sketch of St. Patrick's ministry in Ireland passed over an alleged visit paid by him to Rome, in the pontificate of Leo the Great, who expressed his formal approbation of Patrick's work. This visit Professor Bury dates about A.D. 441-3. I have passed it over because I do not think that it ever took place. Professor Bury's proof that it did is perhaps the most astonishingly clever piece of criticism in his book, based as it is upon the

combined effect of three unconnected statements, only one of which seems at first sight relevant to the matter in hand. The discussion of these statements in Tírechán and the Annals would be unsuitable here, and it is also unnecessary; for while I admit that Professor Bury's argument is most attractive, and might be accepted *if we had no other sources of information*, yet the counter argument from the silence of those other sources is, to my mind, of overwhelming cogency. Over against the casual statement of Tírechán that Patrick ordained a certain Sachellus *in urbe Roma* must be set the silence of Muirchu, of the *Hymn of St. Fiacc*, and, above all, of the *Confession*. It may seem inconsistent to use the silence of the *Confession* as an argument in this case when I have already explained that such reasoning is precarious. It would be so with regard to a circumstance of any other nature. The *Confession* was written near the close of St. Patrick's life, which it sums up. He was too sincere to have any false modesty as to the comparative success he had achieved: "We are . . . the epistle of Christ, for salvation unto the ends of the earth, although not a learned one, yet a most powerful decree." He reckons his converts by "thousands," "countless numbers," and claims to have ordained clergy "everywhere"; and yet, all through, there is the consciousness of the existence of antagonists near home. He writes in fact to vindicate his action in having come to Ireland at all. Surely if Patrick had received a personal and explicit approval from Pope Leo it would have gone far to silence all adversaries, or at least to give Patrick himself an assurance that they were not worth considering; and it would have been in the highest degree unnatural that he should not even allude to it. Patrick was a fifth century Western Christian, and must have shared in the profound respect felt in his time for the Roman See all over the West. It is true that he expresses consistently an almost Pauline indifference to the authority of man. For example, in the oldest manuscript of the Epistle, which has just come to light, he says, "I profess that I have been appointed *by God* bishop in Ireland;" but Patrick must have indeed risen preternaturally above respect for earthly considerations if he would not have been glad to mention

that the choice of God had been publicly approved of by the Pope.

In the preface to his edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, Bishop Reeves makes the general remark that, "If we may judge from the biographical records which have descended to us, primitive Irish Ecclesiastics, and especially the superior class, commonly known as Saints, were very impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injury," and he notes the fact that Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in the last quarter of the twelfth century, has a chapter headed, *Quod etiam sancti terrae istius animi vindicis esse videntur*.

St. Patrick was not an Irishman, but he was a Celt, and it is true that many of the stories told about him, especially in the later *Lives*, do not convey an altogether pleasing impression. But fortunately we are not wholly dependent for our knowledge of St. Patrick's character on what is told us by others. We have the writings of the man himself; and after we have made every allowance for the bias with which we naturally view our own actions and motives, these writings, short though they are, enable us to deny with confidence the truth of much that repels us in the narratives of his biographers.

It has been said that the gods of mankind are ever made in the image of their worshippers, that the character and attributes which men ascribe to their deities are those which they themselves most admire, and that consequently men's conceptions of God vary in worthiness according as the current standard of morals is lofty or degraded. This is certainly true of national heroes; popular imagination abhors a vacuum in the history of the men whom it delights to honour, and where authentic records fail the picture is sure to be filled up with details which are reflections of the moral and spiritual ideals of the age in which they are written; and so it came to pass that an imperfectly Christianised society, which cheerfully included amongst its ruling ideas vindictiveness, an unforgiving spirit, and disregard of others' pain, could see nothing but what was admirable in stories of bad temper triumphant through miraculous power.

I have spoken of St. Patrick's essential humility. It

was really based on a true sense of proportion. If he was of no account in Britain or in Gaul, he must have been pre-eminent in Ireland, and a vain or small-minded man is very apt to have his head turned by constant intercourse with his intellectual inferiors. There is no trace of this in St. Patrick's letters to his converts. If he says nothing about the eminent persons he must have met with it is because to him there is only one thing of importance, the Gospel of Christ. He cannot think of anything else as having any interest to his readers. And this is due to the fact that he was so fully conscious that his own original nature had been incorporated with Christ. To call attention to this is not to enter upon a discussion of St. Patrick's theological beliefs; I merely remind my readers of an elementary, if profound, fact of all Christian experience which must be taken account of in an estimation of the character of any Christian, to whatever age or Church he may belong. What St. Paul meant when he said: "I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me," that St. Patrick meant when he sings:

" Christ with me, Christ before me,
 Christ behind me, Christ in me,
 Christ under me, Christ over me,
 Christ to right of me, Christ to left of me,
 Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up."

The same spirit breathes in every paragraph of his prose writings, and in this we find the key to the secret of the saint's life, as of the life of every Christian man and woman even when they do not or cannot express it in words.

Like St. Paul, St. Patrick had much of that Christian prudence which "takes thought for things honourable in the sight of all men," and requires that a bishop "must have good testimony from them that are without." "As regards those heathen amongst whom I dwell," he says "I have kept faith with them, and will keep it. God knoweth I have defrauded none of them . . . lest through me the name of the Lord should be blasphemed." In a like spirit he refused the spontaneous gifts of his converts "that I should not, even in the smallest matters, give occasion to the unbelievers to defame or disparage." We need not

doubt that it was in great measure to this courageous straight dealing that St. Patrick's success as a missionary was due. He tells us that on one occasion he owed his life to the influence of powerful friends. We may be sure that his disinterestedness and courage gained him the respect of the chieftains, even of those who were not persuaded to become Christians.

"What reward shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits toward me?" Three times in the *Confession* St. Patrick quotes, or alludes to, this query of the Psalmist. He nowhere cites the second half of the verse. He might have thought it arrogant for "Patrick the sinner" to reply, "I will take the cup of salvation." For although he was able to say, "Unto this hour, the Lord being gracious unto me, I have kept the faith," yet he did not "count himself to have apprehended." "I do not trust myself," he says, "as long as I am in the body of this death." Not yet has come the hour for the "cup of salvation." There is another cup which St. Patrick may take. "Because enough, and more than enough, do I desire that He should grant me to drink of His cup, as He permitted to others also who love Him." The practical answer given by St. Patrick has a lesson for missionaries of all ages. In Saul, if not in Downpatrick, there is the grave of a foreign missionary. Patrick was a missionary who came to stay. Three times in his short writings he refers to a determination which he had formed never to be separated from the converts he had made in Ireland. He came to men of another race, and made himself one with them. His place in the hearts of the Irish people all the world over is a witness to the abiding and stimulating influence of a missionary's grave in a land not his own.

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

ISLAM IN ARABIA

IN writing on this land the first difficulty, and one that can hardly be avoided, is that we must deal so largely with unknown quantities. Not only from a geographical but also from a religious point of view the great peninsula still awaits exploration. The latest authority on this subject, David George Hogarth, F.R.G.S., writes in his book, *The Penetration of Arabia* :

“From certain scientific points of view hardly anything in Arabia is known. Not a hundredth part of the peninsula has been mathematically surveyed ; the altitude of scarcely a single point even on the littoral has been fixed by an exact process, and we depend on little more than guesses for all points in the interior. . . . Between the innermost points reached by Europeans in their attempts to penetrate it intervenes a dark space of six hundred and fifty miles span from north to south, and eight hundred and fifty from west to east. This unseen area covers considerably more than half a million square miles, or not much less than half the whole superficies of Arabia.”

Of the real condition of this part of the peninsula we are therefore in ignorance except for hearsay and native report. The Dahna may hold semi-pagan tribes of Arabs or remnants of aborigines like the Shikhoooh in northern Oman. Arabia was not always a Mohammedan land, nor is it wholly a Mohammedan land to-day. There are Jews in Yemen and Irak to the number of at least 150,000, while in the Busrah and Bagdad vilayets there are 12,850 oriental Christians. Whether the semi-pagan tribes of eastern Hadramaut, who on the testimony of travellers know nothing of Islam except the name of Mohammed, are to be counted as Moslems is an open question. Taking the boundary of Arabia on the north as the thirtieth parallel of latitude the area of the country is a million of square miles. This large region, according to the careful estimates of

Dr. Hubert Jansen, has a population of 6,290,860 ; he estimates that of these 6,253,193 are Moslems.¹

Of this number 1,184,500 are in Turkish Arabia in the Provinces of Hejaz Yemen and Hassa, 3,500,000 in Independent Arabia, and 1,606,360 in what Jansen calls Arabia under British protection—i.e., Aden, Bahrein and Oman. In my opinion these estimates are not wide of the truth.

All four of the orthodox sects of Islam are represented in Arabia. In the Turkish provinces the Hanafis ; in Yemen there are many Shafis ; in the interior Malekis and Hanbalis. The Shiah sect is found on the east coasts, and is strong in Mesopotamia ; while the Abadhi sect, of Shiah origin, is found in many parts of Oman.

The one sect, however, which is distinctly Arabian, and because of its vast and lasting influence worthy of special note, is that of the Wahabis. To study their origin, history, tenets and influence is to have a good insight into Islam as it is to-day in Arabia.

The rise of innumerable heresies as the result of philosophical speculation, the spread of mysticism among the learned classes, and the return to many heathen superstitions on the part of the masses, made Islam ripe for reform at the middle of the eighteenth century. Add to this that there was a general decadence of morals under the Ottoman Caliphate, and that there had been a lull in Moslem conquest. Except for a temporary revival of missionary activity on the part of the Moslems of China and the spread of Islam among the Barbary Tartars, the eighteenth century saw little advance for the Crescent. Instead of conquest there was controversy. The germs of idolatry left by Mohammed in his system bore fruit also in Arabia. Saint-worship became common. The Shiahs had made Kerbela the rival of Mecca and Medina as a place of pilgrimage. There were local shrines of holy men near every village, and stone and tree-worship were not at all uncommon. The whole world of thought was honeycombed with superstitions, and the old-time simplicity of morals and life had given way to luxury and sensuality. Burckhardt testifies regarding Mecca itself (which has always been to the pious

¹ *Verbreitung des Islams.* Berlin, 1897.

Moslem the cynosure of his faith) that, just before the time of the Wahabi reformation, debauchery was fearfully common, and that harlotry and even unnatural vices were perpetrated openly in the sacred city. Almsgiving had grown obsolete; justice was neither swift nor impartial; effeminacy had displaced the martial spirit; and the conduct of the pilgrim-caravans was scandalous in the extreme.

Such was the condition of Arabia when Mohammed Bin Abd ul Wahab bin Musherrif was born at Wasit in Nejd, 1691 A.D. Before his death this great reformer, earnest as Luther, and zealous as Cromwell, saw his doctrines accepted and his laws obeyed from the Persian Gulf to the Yemen frontier. As a result of his teaching there sprang up in the short space of fifty years not only a new, widely extended, and important Moslem sect, but an independent and powerful state. Abd ul Wahab was a whirlwind of puritanism against the prevailing apostacy of the Moslems of his day. His sect was a protest against idolatry and superstition. It stood for no new teaching, but was a call back to the original Islam. It was an honest attempt at an Arabian reformation which was intended to repristinate the entire Moslem world. Yet, so far from giving a progressive impulse to Moslem thought, it has proved the most reactionary element in the history of Islam.

In the year 1740, the preacher of reform made an alliance with the powerful Arab chief, Mohammed bin Saood, and then the religious warfare for the truth began. To give the history in detail of the rise of the Wahabi state, and its bloody conflicts, first with the Arabs and afterwards against the Turks and the Egyptians, as well as the history of the two British campaigns from India against the Wahabi pirates of Oman, is impossible in the narrow limits of this paper. A brief account and a list of the literature on this subject can be found in the *Journal of the Victoria Institute* for 1901.

Because Wahabi teaching has modified Islam all over the Arabian peninsula, and still exercises a mighty influence on thought and politics, it is important to note on what points a thorough-going Wahabi differs from an orthodox Moslem :

1. They do not receive the dogmatic decisions of the

four Imams, reject *Ijma'a*, i.e., the unanimous consent of the theologians, and profess to hold the right of private judgment in interpreting the Koran.

2. Their monotheism is absolute. Prayers may not be offered in the name of any prophet, wali, or saint. Palgrave's famous description of Allah is a true picture of the Wahabi doctrine of God. They are fatalists.

3. Together with this absolute monotheism they are accused, and not without reason, of having crude and anthropomorphic ideas of deity. They understand the words, "sitting" and "Hand of God" in a strictly literal sense.

4. They hold that Mohammed can not intercede now, but that he may on the last day. In this they differ from all other Moslem sects.

5. They think it wrong to build cupolas over graves, or to honour the dead by illuminations or the visiting of tombs, &c.

6. They are accused of holding that certain portions of the original Koran were abstracted by Othman out of envy when he had made his recension superseding all other copies.¹

7. They observe only four festivals in the calendar year.

8. They forbid the use of the rosary, and count the names of God and their prayers on the knuckles of the hand instead.

9. In the matter of dress they advocate simplicity. All silk, jewels, silver and gold, and other than Arabian dress are an abomination to God and to his prophet.

10. All drugs that benumb or stupefy, and especially tobacco, are strictly forbidden and put under the category of greater sins. The weed is known by the name of "the shameful" or by a still worse and untranslatable epithet which implies a purely Satanic origin for the plant.

11. Wahabi mosques are built with the greatest simplicity, and no minarets are allowed nor ornament in the place of prayer.

12. The sect lays great stress on the doctrine of *Jihad* or religious warfare. To fight for the faith with carnal

¹ See Badger's *History of Oman*, pp. 252, 253.

weapons is a command of God never to be abrogated. In all their bloody battles they never were known to grant quarter to a Turk. They keep Mohammed's precept diligently, "Kill the unbelievers wherever ye find them."

A careful survey of these and other points of difference leaves no doubt of the reactionary character of this reform movement. It is an advance backward and progress toward an *impasse*. And yet if ever a reform had promise of success it was the Wahabi revival in Arabia. Mohammed bin Abdul Wahab understood the strength and the weakness of Islam as no one before him did. Saood the founder of the Wahabi state was a great man. Though at the head of a powerful military government, he appears never (outside the laws of religion) to have encroached upon the legitimate freedom of his subjects. The great principle of separating the judicial from the executive branch of government he understood not only, but faithfully carried out. The Wahabi judges of those days were noted for their impartiality; they were so well paid from the public treasury that they did not need bribes for bread. Robbery met with the swift old-time punishment of chopping off the hand of the culprit. We are told "The people lay down to sleep at night with no fear that their cattle would be stolen in the morning; and a single merchant with his camel load of wares could travel in safety from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea." To-day even a well-armed caravan dares to travel only by daylight through Turkish Hassa and Yemen.

Public education had no mean place in the Wahabi state. Schools were everywhere established and teachers sent even to the Bedouins; and although instruction was very elementary, its widespread results are apparent in Nejd and Yemama to this day.

Of the influence of the Wahabi revival on Islam in India and in Africa and on the rise of the modern Moslem Brotherhoods there is no space here to write. In Arabia the chief strongholds of the sect are along the coast of the Persian Gulf in Oman and in 'Ajman and the Wady Doasir. In the latter place they still preserve all their old-time beliefs and fanaticism so as to be a proverb among the Arabs.

The effect of the Wahabi movement has influenced all Arabian thought. It has built a wall of fanaticism around the old Wahabi states, and postponed the opening of doors to civilisation and Christianity in that part of the peninsula. On the other hand some positive and negative results of the revival have, I think, favoured Christian Missions.

Islam in its primitive teaching is nearer the truth than Islam with all its added superstitions and additions of a later date. The Koran can more easily be made our ally in the battle for the Gospel than the interpretations of the four Imams. My dealings with the Wahabis have impressed me with their accessibility on *spiritual* lines, once the way is opened to their hearts.

Negatively, Wahabism is a strong argument that Islam, even when reformed into its original principles and practices, has no power to save a people or introduce permanent progress. There is no better polemic against Islam than a presentation of the present intellectual, social, and moral condition of Arabia. Cradled at Mecca, fostered at Medina, and reformed in the Nejd, the creed of Islam has had undisputed possession of the peninsula almost since its birth. In other lands, such as Syria and Egypt, it remained in contact with a more or less corrupt form of Christianity, or, as in India and in China, in conflict with cultured paganism, and there is no doubt that in both cases there were and are mutual concessions and influences. But in its native Arabian soil the tree planted by the prophet has grown with wild freedom and brought forth fruit after its kind. As regards morality Arabia is on a low plane. Slavery and concubinage exist everywhere; while polygamy and divorce are fearfully common. The conscience is petrified; legality is the highest form of worship; virtue is to be like the prophet Mohammed. Intellectually there has been scant progress since "the time of ignorance" when all the Arab tribes used to gather at Okatz to compete in poetry and eloquence. The Bedouins are nearly all illiterate and, in spite of the Wahabi revival and the attempt of Turkish officials to open schools, there is little that deserves the name of education in even the larger towns. Kufa, which was once the Oxford of Arabia, now has one day school with twelve pupils; Fatalism, the

philosophy of the masses, has paralysed progress, and injustice is often stoically accepted. Cruelty is common, lying is a fine art, and robbery a science. Islam and the Wahabis have made the noble, free-hearted and hospitable Arabs hostile to Christians and wary of all strangers. Doughty and Palgrave, who both crossed the heart of Arabia, have given it as their verdict that there is no hope for this land in Islam. It has been tried zealously for thirteen hundred years and piteously failed.

As regards the future of Islam in Arabia there are three factors. The old independent spirit in Nejd and Yemen, not to omit even Hejaz, is restless under the rule of Turkey. Rebellion has become chronic and threatens to be revolution. The proposed railway from Damascus to Mecca and the south is really a challenge to the other powers on the part of the Sultan to keep hands off Arabia. But the railway, when opened, may prove an open door to more than Turkish troops. This long and never ending conflict between the Arab and the Turk in Arabia is the first factor of the future problem.

The second and more important factor is British policy in Arabia. That the whole country owes an immense debt to Great Britain in the past I have shown elsewhere.¹ To the outside observer there seems no doubt that her policy is aggressive in the hinterland of Aden, and that all the Arabs welcome it. On the littoral of Hadramaut and Oman, British influence is the only preserver of the peace, and her gun-boats alone prevent piracy. In the Persian Gulf British prestige is gaining ground slowly but surely. What is the aim of British policy in Arabia? He who can answer that question can read the future of a large part of the dark peninsula.

The third factor is Christian Missions. While it is inevitable that the advent of Western civilisation through British commerce and politics will modify Moslem thought even in Arabia as it has in India and Egypt, it is not to be taken for granted that either of these harbingers of progress are necessarily in conflict with Islam. But Christian Missions exist to propagate Christianity. They have only recently entered Arabia, and yet the results prove their

¹ *The Cradle of Islam*, pp. 218-232.

efficiency and potency to a degree above the hopes of many. The United Free Church of Scotland has a very strong medical mission at Sheik Othman, a school for Moslem children, and does itinerating inland. The medical work of the C.M.S. Mission at Bagdad is known far inland in the villages and cities of Nejd, and has already borne rich spiritual fruit after years of self-denying toil in relieving suffering. Their school at Bagdad has 150 pupils. The American Mission in the Persian Gulf has sixteen missionaries with three stations and three out-stations. Over 3,000 Scriptures were sold last year to Moslems and 20,096 patients treated at our two dispensaries. Seventy-five per cent. of these were Moslems. At Bahrein there is a fully equipped Mission hospital, and we are building a chapel and school. In each of these three missions there have been converts and baptisms. The outlook for missions in Arabia may demand a strong faith and a zeal that knows no discouragement, but it is decidedly hopeful, and is growing more hopeful year by year. For obvious reasons it would be unwise to give further details of missions in a land still so largely under the power of the Koran and its intolerant spirit.

S. M. ZWEMER.

VOCATION AND PREPARATION FOR MISSIONARY WORK

No one who knows Englishmen and Englishwomen with any sort of real knowledge can doubt for a moment that, given a clear call of duty, they are ready at all hazards and cost to make full proof of their calling, and to follow duty as their King.

There is, however, a practical side to the English character which wants clear issues, firm footing, and plain marching orders before committing itself. Mere ideals have small practical attraction until they are translated into the plain prose of action and clear-cut enterprise.

We are therefore a little suspicious of abstract ideas about vocation, and on the whole trust more to taking things as they come, making the best of them, and just doing our plain duty in them and taking the consequences of our own actions.

And so it too generally happens that we choose our "calling in life," as we say, from immediate circumstance, from current need, or favourable opportunity ; and who shall deny that, on the whole, life works itself out for our England not unsuccessfully? As we think of the various professions of men and women, and the *results* of their lives worked out through a generation or two, in spite of failures here and there, one cannot but thank God that the simple sense of plain, practical *duty*, rather than the more picturesque attractions of many-coloured *glory*, has been the guiding star of our nation's destiny.

But the wise man sees the faults, or rather the defects—let us call them the limitations—of his virtues.

And in my humble judgment the present time and its opportunities, no less than the many losses of the past, call upon us to realise that force to be completely effective

must be organised, centralised, and focussed before it is distributed, whether in nature or in grace. We sometimes talk about the waste of the ointment that did honour to Christ—even when we defend it—as though it were waste of force, or indeed “waste” in any true sense. There is *no* “waste” in creative or providential energy. *Waste is misuse.* And it is we alone who misuse time, talent, opportunity, and too often excuse ourselves by quoting Mary as our example in haphazard service or worship. She, and the poor widow, no less than the rich young man, were *called*, not by fortuitous circumstance, but by the Eternal Love, to an economy of lavish giving. *They* “immediately obeyed the calling”—*he* “went away sorrowful—yea, *very* sorrowful.” *They* had been responding all along, and *he* evidently had trusted to chance sentiment or to reasonable, practical issues. *They* won the crown of their vocation—*he* lost it.

Vocation is, for Christians, both general and special. The baptismal vocation commits us to general vows of renunciation, faith, and obedience. The special vocation of God's Providence marks out for many, if not all of us, the *sphere* within which we are to fulfil (*i.e.* to fill full) “the good pleasure of His Will.”

It is here, I venture to think, that our ordinary educational influences (in their full sense of home, school, and clerical influence and teaching) fall short, more perhaps with regard to special vocation than to the general baptismal call. I am of the opinion, *e.g.*, that the call to the special vocation of the priesthood is left too often—is *kept* too often—in the background, or left as a *last resource*. I am of the opinion that the call to what is called, for want of a better or more technical name, “the religious life” for men and women, *i.e.* the vowed and dedicated life of special service in religion, is neither preached enough about nor taught enough openly. There is too much mystery made about it amongst Christians themselves. *It is too little taken for granted* in family, school, and parish life that this call to special dedication is *always* there and at work. I remember well the case of a young man who on that wonderful first Day of Intercession for Missions in '72 had felt the *call* to go abroad, and just simply, as a matter of course, arranged to

go. I remember how some of his friends began to talk of the "frightful sacrifice of opportunities," "strange infatuation," and so on. I can remember the case of a girl (of full age) who felt called to give herself to the vowed religious life. Her well-meaning Christian mother used every argument short of force to keep her from "this senseless fancy," as she called it. It was "unnatural," "over-righteous," and so on. And I believe, from a long experience of work amongst boys and young men, and from a less experience but much observation of work amongst women and girls, that every year hundreds of these special vocations are lost to the Church and humanity—lost, shall I say it? to Christ and the Holy Spirit—for want of that touch of faith and sympathy which parent and teacher, friend and pastor are, in my judgment, called upon by their own vocation to supply. For want of suggestion, for lack of opportunity—worse still, because of some deprecating word or worldly protest—hundreds of our confirmees drift into the professional or business or fashionable life, or into that strange, harmless, but useless dreamy life, "half sadness and half fear," in which thousands of Christian men and women vegetate or just endure. They have not *rejected*, but they have *lost*, their chance of joyous sacrificial life, and have to be content just to exist on grace—"doing what they can," as they say, but with far-off memories of the old call like the echo of a battle-day that has passed and left them in a dream.

We need—the Church needs—humanity needs—God needs and demands these special vocations as much, if not more, now than ever. In my judgment, the Mission work of the Church at home and abroad—its educational and philanthropic work no less than its devotional, student, and evangelistic work, call loudly for specialised vocation and dedication. We want communities of men and women—called, dedicated, trained, sent ready to go anywhere, do anything, dare everything for the "saving health" of all nations. It is for the Church to call through its bishops for a great volunteer army of evangelists, teachers, doctors of every degree, nurses and helpers of every grade, to go forth through the length and breadth of this so-called Christian Empire of ours, to deepen its life,

"strengthen its stays, and lengthen its cords"—with no social or scholastic shibboleths or party polemics, but only the love of Christ and souls to sustain them. I believe that if the call comes with sufficient authority, and is accompanied with sufficient business-like grip and grasp of the situation, the fathers of the Church would soon find her sons and daughters as eager to enlist in her service as did the sons and daughters of this Empire of ours in the late war; and the Christian world would once more behold the Church as the Bride of Christ, "going forth as the morning, and glorious as an army with banners." And it is for every parent, priest and teacher to rise up and have a share in this work of God by prayer and suggestion, by encouragement and co-operation, to develop in their children any special vocation of service to which God may be calling them. Let us pray for the Spirit to revive His work in the midst of the years, that apostles, martyrs, confessors may more and more adorn our history—not less in stained-glass windows, but more and more in actual living fact.

There is small space left me to speak of the necessary *preparation* and *training* for work, and I can only be brief.

- (1) Let it be (a) general and (b) specific.
- (2) Let it be *thorough*—having regard to individual faculty and character—not too formal—aiming rather at joyous, free development and manly and womanly discipline than at military drill and repression.
- (3) Let it be of *sufficient* length and breadth and depth, not pedantic, nor wasteful, nor hopelessly profound.
- (4) Let it be technical, yet very practical.
- (5) Let its one motive be love to God and man—inspired by sacrifice, lit up by worship, and consecrated by prayer.

W. T. MASHONALAND.

VOCATION TO MISSIONARY SERVICE

"THERE are in my rooms at this moment appeals from bishops in colonial and missionary dioceses for more than 200 priests. I am free to go, and willing. But ought I to leave my present work in order to go abroad, and, if so, to which of all these different places ought I to go? Surely I cannot be the proper person to decide either the one question or the other. Can a priest of two or three years' standing be fitted to judge between the work of the Church at home and its work abroad, or to estimate the urgency of the different calls from abroad?"

Such is the problem of the missionary vocation in its most recent form. I am not sure that it is really so serious a problem as has sometimes been supposed, but the issues raised by implication in this form of it are serious and fundamental.

However, it is natural to object that the discussion of the missionary vocation ought not to be begun at this point, but earlier. The priest above quoted said in effect, "I am willing to go to the missionary or colonial work of the Church provided that a competent authority will send me." Surely this is an advanced stage in missionary vocation. How was it reached? On what grounds ought a man to say, "I am willing to go?"

When I was an undergraduate at Oxford I remember to have heard the present Bishop of Birmingham (Mr. Charles Gore, as he was then) say at a missionary meeting "Every Christian man or woman who stays at home is bound to ask himself or herself the question 'Why am I not a foreign missionary?'" He impressed upon us that if we had not a sufficiently good answer to give to that question we ought to go out. There is the root of the matter. "Go and make disciples of all nations" is the last charge of the great Head of the Church; it is the characteristic note of life in our religion that it has an impulse and power to

propagate itself. And a Christian who does not wish to make others Christians is not a genuine Christian. But are there not parts of our own land where the indifferent and ignorant are practically heathen, and the public opinion which they make a heathen public opinion? And is not even the care of the baptized and the communicants in the most ancient parish of Christendom a part of the Conquest of the World for the Master, for every army needs a secure base? Such arguments have in them a measure of truth. But in spite of them the claims of foreign service are paramount, first because the Church cannot make disciples of all nations without being continually engaged in aggressive work, secondly because those who can go to the foreign missionary work are now, and probably must always be, far fewer than those who can do the work of Christ at home.

Let us examine the meaning of the word "can" in the last sentence. In the spirit of Bishop Gore's question, let us imagine a person asking himself "Is the answer to the question why I am not a foreign missionary, in my case this—that I *can* go and have not gone?"

One who is well known and honoured in our Church once analysed this "can" into three parts, (1) I am free; (2) I am fit; (3) I could rejoice in the work.

"I am free." There are certain ties which any one would hold to be serious impediments to foreign missionary work. Such a tie as that of an only child to an infirm and widowed mother will occur as an obvious instance. On another side, a position of great difficulty adequately filled would be held by most persons to be a serious reason against the removal of him who so fills it to the Mission Field. This would be a matter for the judgment of others rather than the man himself, and probably only a temporary hindrance, for no man is irreplaceable.

Though in many cases the answer is quite obvious, in others it will be a matter of difficulty to decide whether a man is free to leave his present work.

"I am fit." This does not mean, of course, "I am worthy;" no man is. It refers to such matters as health, and training, and, to a certain extent, natural capacity, *e.g.* for languages.

"I could rejoice in the work." The authority who I am following reminds us that we are bidden to "rejoice evermore." A man may be so constituted that he could not rejoice in, *e.g.* the solitude or the physical discomfort of some parts of the foreign missionary work, while he could rejoice in the hardest work at home. For my own part I may be allowed, perhaps, to express in passing a doubt whether this third criterion will be useful or decisive for all temperaments : some earnest and holy men are so defective in the spirit of thankfulness, and others so defective in buoyancy of temperament, that all work is very grey to them, and since they never rejoice as they might, the fact of their feeling unable to rejoice at the prospect of mission work would prove nothing. Again, it might be doubted whether this were a safe criterion of all work ; "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," is not the language of rejoicing. Perhaps the truest judgment would be that while to be able to rejoice in the prospect of mission work should be a great support to the sense of vocation, the absence of joy in the prospect ought not to be considered a conclusive disproof of vocation.

With such explanation as has been given, at least the positive proposition may be affirmed. A man may be sure that he has the 'call to missionary work who realises the urgency of the Lord's last command, and is convinced that it is personal to himself in the sense of a call to foreign service, because he is free, is fit, and could rejoice in the work.

Such is the *inward call*. But what is the *outward*? This is the point which the priest with whose case this article began had reached. Now the plain Englishman, with his dislike of red-tape and preference for anomaly, has a short way with this question. The bishop who comes home or the commissary who speaks for him gives an urgent call. It is the first after he has become clear about the inward call. It is authoritative, it is episcopal. What hinders? He considers whether there is any plain, matter-of-fact hindrance? Is that portion of the world likely to be fatal to his health, whereas other foreign dioceses would not be? Is he really too stupid to learn so difficult a language whereas he could learn others spoken by quite

as many heathen, or could go to the Colonies? Is the divergence of views between himself and the Bishop so great that he could not as readily and cheerfully obey him as he could many others? If the answer to these questions raises no difficulty, he consults his own diocesan Bishop, who probably does not check him. If in his prayers, with which he has accompanied all these stages, it has become increasingly clear to him that the inward call has only gained in urgency as the idea of *this* special work has been brought before him, he concludes that he has found not only a general, but a particular, vocation. He reflects, on the one hand, that his work, considered in itself, is so ineffective anywhere that it does not greatly matter where it is done, so long as all such care has been taken as commonsense suggests, and that in one of His recorded utterances his Master strongly condemned delay in the work of the kingdom. Such thoughts dispose him to accept the first call that comes. If it should be an obviously unsuitable one, he considers other demands from beyond the seas; old friendship or some connection with his university or his college, or his family, seems to give a suggestion (who shall call such accidental?), and he finds a call that he can willingly and happily obey. Many a man has gone out under such conditions, and the blessing of God has rested on his work. It seems ridiculous not to judge by results, or to deny on any *a priori* grounds that the call which came to Patteson through the living voice of Bishop G. A. Selwyn and his connection with Eton was the voice of God. Such is the method which the plain unecclesiastically-minded Englishman adopts when he has to solve the problem of missionary vocation. "It has been good enough," he would say, "for all, or almost all, the English missionaries of the last 200 years. No really earnest man will ever be deterred from missionary service because he has no clearer call." He would very likely describe the difficulties of the priest with whose case this paper began as self-made and imaginary. Yet such a priest may be a very earnest man, and certainly no shuffler. How many actually feel as he does one cannot say, yet even if they be but few, their position deserves further consideration.

Briefly then their position is this. If a priest were sent to the Mission Field or to colonial work by adequate authority, he might fail or succeed, live or die, but the initial responsibility would not be his. In gloom and in perplexity, when all seemed going wrong, he would never be "stricken through with doubt" as to his right to be there, he would never be haunted by the suspicion that it was perhaps caprice or restlessness or self-pleasing which brought him out to reap its due punishment of failure and pain. But if he had been sent out by adequate authority, such as that of his Bishop, he would know that his prayers for the Bishop could not have failed, and that through the Bishop God had sent him to succeed or to "fail" as might be best for His kingdom. Thus the priest would face the difficulties and trials of the Mission Field in confident assurance that whatever came was the result of God's will, not of his own self-will. Unless he received a mandate to go from the Bishop, he could never be sure that he had had the mandate of God at all.

It is difficult to judge this position fairly. No one with reasonable self-knowledge can fail to know that the heart is deceitful; no one with any knowledge of the world can fail to know that too great consciousness of that fact is the way to distraction of conscience and paralysis of will; no one with any knowledge of God can fail to know that He speaks to others besides Moses "as a man speaketh to his friend." That immediate intercourse with God is religion.

All the self-deceptions which have professed to come of such intercourse can never avail to discredit it, nor rob it of its supreme place among the objects of the religious man's ambition. Only he has laid hold on eternal life who knows with the knowledge of friendship the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He sent. It is hard to deal fairly with the position under consideration because those who take it are sometimes so strong in demanding the outward call of the ecclesiastical superior that they almost seem to deny that a real call to the Mission Field can be given in that private personal intercourse with God which is the life of our life. Yet that is not their real point. Their real point is the paramount importance of the outward call. This they urge in several ways. Sometimes they will say that

the inward call is invalid without the outward call, a statement which when emphasised a little more strongly turns into the statement that the outward call must precede the inward: this, in its turn, reduces the inward call to a consent. Sometimes they urge that the outward call is valid without the inward call; this reduces the inward call either to nothing or to a reminiscence of the inward call which first set the man on seeking Holy Orders. But putting aside for the moment the details of his analysis, one definite point emerges. It is this: There is no necessity for an inward call to foreign missionary service to be felt by a priest at the time at which he receives an outward call from an ecclesiastical superior authorised to give it. The latter is valid without the former. It would be right for a Bishop to overrule a priest's own judgment in this case. That judgment can only be wilfulness or self-pleasing; it cannot be an inward call of God to home work.

As against the validity of the outward call in a case where no inward call is experienced reference has been made to the spirit of the English Ordinal. Let us now consider what the Ordinal says, and what it implies.

With regard to the two great starting-points of ministerial life, the English Ordinal is singular in emphasising the necessity of an inward call. The first two questions of the Bishop to the candidates for Deacon's Orders are as follows:

"Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of His glory, and the edifying of His people?"

"Do you think that you are truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this Realm, to the ministry of the Church?"

Of these questions the first concerns what has been called above the inward call. The second asks the candidate to express his personal assent to the authority and regularity of the outward call. One question takes the place of these two in the case of candidates for the priesthood.

"Do you think in your heart that you be truly called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Church of *England*, to the order and ministry of priesthood?"

With these must be compared the first question put by the Archbishop to the Bishop-elect before his consecration.

"Are you persuaded that you be truly called to this ministration, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Realm?"

Archbishop Temple is known to have felt himself precluded by the spirit and letter of this question from commanding a priest to accept consecration for a missionary diocese which had been offered to him and been refused by him.

Thus it may be said that the English Ordinal emphasises the necessity for a felt and acknowledged inward call, corroborating, if it does not precede, the outward ecclesiastical call at the entrance upon the three degrees of the ministry. There is a difference of before and after in the cases of these different degrees. As a rule, a man feels the inward call to be ordained deacon before he receives the outward; again, as a rule, a man receives the outward call to the episcopate first, and it only remains to ask whether this is corroborated by the inward call. It is not necessary in this regard to consider the matter of the priesthood. The other two cases are amply sufficient to prove that we cannot extract from the Ordinal a principle that either of the two calls, the inward and the outward, must precede the other in time. What is clear is that vocation to any of the three degrees of ministry is treated as necessarily composed of the inward and the outward call; both must be present to constitute vocation.

It is allowed by some that this is true of these three great points of departure in ministerial life, but it is argued by them that it is true of no others. Can this argument be sustained? At first sight it looks most unlikely. Why should the ordained man hear the voice of God calling him in the silence of his heart to be a deacon, to be a priest, or to be a bishop, and on no other occasion? One cannot but recall an analogy. God made the world and did not leave it to go on by itself as a watchmaker leaves a watch, but is ever present at all places and times sustaining and animating it. We apply the analogy. God calls some of His servants to be priests, and then he does not leave them

without any further calls, but guides, sustains, animates them with that presence which the priest often blames the naturalist for neglecting to perceive in the world of nature. Some allow that this guidance is given to a great extent through the Church and its officers, and proceed to argue that it is wrong to demand the inward corroborating call as an indispensable condition of obeying the outward call of the ecclesiastical superior. For certain persons it is urged there may be occasions where this outward call is all-sufficient. For instance, the whole idea of a monastic order is that a man feels one great imperative initial call to serve God by joining the order ; after he has done so, a lifelong obedience is but the carrying out of this call. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that he believes that God by calling him to be a monk has promised him direction through human voices for the rest of his life. Yet every one knows that it has happened, and often happens, that a brother informs the superior that he feels himself moved by God to undertake this or that work, and that the superior consents. But this consent still keeps the principle intact : it is the superior's word which is the last word : he might have refused his consent ; and if so, the brother would believe either that he had mistaken the leading of his own selfwill for the leading of God, or that the leading of God referred not to the present, but to some future time. This is the theory of obedience which some persons wish themselves and their clerical brethren to apply to their relations to our Bishops in the matter of foreign missionary or colonial service. Agreement cannot be reached as to the rightness or wrongness of the proposal by arguing from the point of view of the priest himself. Some will always be found to say that they would prefer this proposed life of obedience and direction ; others will always say that they look with confidence for the inward call of God in all important matters, adding that the ideal of the priest is to be continually *αὐτὸς θεοδιδάκτος*. But there is another point of view from which the question may be treated, the point of view of the Church and its work. Some readers who have borne with what has been so far said have perhaps done so with increasing impatience, because they consider that the question is one of public ecclesiastical interest, and that the

private interests of the individual priest have little or nothing to do with it. Yet the question has been presented first as a personal question, because it is raised in that form day by day by the younger clergy. But though it may be so raised, it cannot be so solved. It can only be solved when it is considered from the point of view of the advantage of the Church as a whole. A difficulty here arises. Junior clergy, like the writer of this article, are bound to consider the problems personal to themselves, but it is for the rulers of the Church to consider the policy of the Church as a whole because the responsibility of action rests upon them. However, when the body suffers, every member suffers with it, and therefore it may be permissible to point out the dangerous condition of a body which has no central will to direct the efforts of its members, and to add some suggestions as to the organisation which would give the Church a better chance of acting as a living and vigorous body.

No words can put the vital point better than these which the last mail brings from the Rand from Archdeacon Michael Furse. He writes :

"We shall, I am convinced, never do what we should be doing until we quite fearlessly tackle the problem not only of the supply of candidates for the ministry but of the use of them when we've got them. It's my old complaint: the campaign is, or is not, *one*: if it is, as I believe it must ever be, then the whole forces, men and supplies, which the Anglican Communion can lay its hands upon should be used to the best possible advantage. Some places at any given time must be more worth holding than others. I can even conceive it possible that it might be to the advantage of the whole Church that from time to time the staffs of such places as St. Peter's, Eaton Square, and St. Matthew's, Westminster, might be reduced to provide a few priests for large tracts of country where it is not possible for the faithful to have at present any benefit of clergy or receive the sacraments which are generally necessary to salvation."

This extract from a private letter contains indications both of the evil and its solution. The work of the Church of England is apparently not considered by any person or body of persons as one campaign, because at present no one thinks it his business to consider it in that light, much less to direct the campaign. The diocesan Bishops are

overoccupied with their own dioceses. The missionary societies exist for missionary work beyond the seas, and to that extent at least compete with the home work. Who remains to balance the two interests, to co-ordinate the different parts of each, to direct the whole campaign? No one. Is this because we have deliberately and advisedly left so great an enterprise to our Divine Head? Is it not rather because the Church of England has grown "while men slept," they knew not how, and, long used to the impossibility of marshalling and directing forces in the home dioceses because of our extraordinary system of patronage, we have not even asked ourselves whether marshalling and directing forces be or be not a part of the Church's campaign? Yet can it be seriously urged that it is beyond the power of the human mind to take the wide view necessary to construct or carry out plans so far-reaching? In the State and in its subordinate departments such views are taken, such plans elaborated, corrected, and carried out day by day.

Now if it be granted that such statesmanship is required of the Church, who are the rulers of whom it is required, and in what manner are they to be obeyed?

Before answering this question it will be of interest to summarise so much of the existing arrangements of the Roman Church as illustrate the matter under discussion. All those countries which do not acknowledge the Pope as their spiritual head are assigned to the care of the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, which derives its authority from the Pope and is presided over by a Cardinal Prefect. This Congregation entrusts different foreign parts, where there is no hierarchy established, to different bodies—some of regular, others of secular, clergy—and these bodies carry on their missionary work in the parts assigned to them, and must confine their work to those parts. The largest share of the missionary work of the Roman Church has fallen to bodies of "religious." The "religious" are subject to Vicars-Apostolic, who are directly under Propaganda, in all that concerns the care of souls and the administration of the Sacraments, but not in what concerns the observance of their religious rule. Their own superiors in the different orders, not the Vicars-Apostolic, would decide whether a

particular "religious" was to go to the Mission work or the home work of the order. The Bishop of any diocese of the Roman obedience not only does not, but may not, command one of his clergy to leave the diocese and go to any other. If a priest is to do so, he must get an "exeat" from his present Bishop; without this he cannot go. If one of the ordinary parochial clergy felt an inward call to foreign missions he would obtain such an "exeat," and either join a religious order, in which he might or might not be sent to the foreign field, according to the decision of his superiors in the order, or he would join a body of secular priests like the Missions Étrangères, which exists solely for foreign work. Now it is obvious what this system implies with regard to the call. There is no such thing as an episcopal call in it. A priest must voluntarily put himself into a body of professedly available men before he is at all likely to get out to the Mission Field. And when he is in such body, the call which will send him out, if he is to be sent, is the Papal command reaching him through double delegation—first the Propaganda, then the superior of the body which the individual priest has joined.

It may be well to take this opportunity of remarking on two ancient instances which have been brought into the discussion of this question at different times. It has just been said that the call to the Mission Field which the Roman priest would hear is the Papal command. The Pope is in this case certainly not acting as the Bishop of Rome: he is acting by an authority which is the outgrowth of, and still includes, the Patriarchal authority which the sixth Nicene canon refers to as belonging by custom to the Bishop of Rome, in order to confirm to the Bishop of Alexandria the same authority over Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis. Now one of the ancient cases of direct mission referred to is the sending of Frumentius or Frumentatus to Axum in Abyssinia by Athanasius shortly after his accession to the throne of St. Mark. Frumentatus had been wrecked on the coast of Abyssinia as a boy in the company of a certain inquisitive philosopher, or, as we should now call him, explorer. The Abyssinians, having just broken off friendly relations with the Roman Empire, seized the shipwrecked party and killed the explorer and all the rest

except Frumentatus and another boy. These grew up in the king's court, and ultimately, after the king's death, Frumentatus became tutor and Prime Minister to his son during his minority. He was zealous in finding all the Christian merchants he could and inciting them to build chapels and teach the Abyssinians. When the young king came of age Frumentatus returned to the civilised world, and, repairing at once to Alexandria, told Athanasius of the good opportunity which he thought had arisen for converting the Abyssinians. Athanasius said that no one could be more suitable for the work than Frumentatus himself, ordained him, and also consecrated him Bishop, and sent him forth. Now on this story the following comments may be allowed. Frumentatus did not volunteer, he "prayed Athanasius to send a Bishop and clergy." (Socrates, i. 19.) The call came to him as a layman from ecclesiastical authority. Sozomen says Athanasius consulted the conprovincial Bishops, as he was bound by the fourth Canon of Nicæa to do, about his consecration as Bishop, nor is there anything contrary to this in Socrates' words. But Socrates puts the responsibility for the call of Frumentatus upon Athanasius' shoulders. Athanasius had just received what has been called above the "patriarchal" authority of the See of Alexandria. It was in virtue of that authority that he arranged to consecrate Frumentatus. In the whole matter he was apparently acting as patriarch of Alexandria, and probably foresaw that the new bishopric, which he selected this Tyrian layman to inaugurate, would form, as it actually did, an extension of his patriarchal jurisdiction. The other ancient case often mentioned is that of Gregory the Great and our own Augustine. It should not be forgotten by those who quote this story that it begins with a conspicuous case of volunteering. Gregory, before he became Pope, actually asked leave of Pelagius (whose *apocrisiarius* he was) to go as a missionary to Britain. The leave was granted, but no sooner had Gregory started than it was withdrawn. After he became Pope, Gregory sent Augustine and other monks of the monastery of St. Andrew on the Cœlian, which he (Gregory) had founded and presided over, to fulfil the project from which he had been held back. It must be added that when

Augustine became frightened at the dangers and difficulties of his undertaking, Gregory insisted upon his going on. This was virtually the call of an unwilling agent. But on the more general issue it should be noted first that these missionaries were all monks, secondly, that Gregory aspired to be at least patriarch of the west.

There is nothing in either of these stories to prove that the provision and sending out of missionaries is the proper business of an ordinary Bishop. On the contrary, so far as they go, they may be said to support the interpretation placed in this article on the modern Roman practice that it is a duty belonging to the authority of a Patriarch.

However, it is sometimes urged that it is the duty of the Diocesan Bishops of England, as such, to study the world-policy of the Church, to estimate the varying necessities of her world-campaign, and to call and send men from their own dioceses abroad. The first and the classic example of this in actual working is the case of Bishop Westcott and certain clergy of his diocese of Durham.

The following is an extract from Bishop Westcott's life. In Advent 1905 the Bishop received a letter from some of the younger clergy on the subject of Foreign Service. In this letter the following paragraph occurs :

"Will, then, your Lordship, we would deferentially ask, consider whether in any way men can be encouraged to intimate either unitedly or individually, but privately, to their bishop that they wish to be at his free disposal, if occasion should arise, for home or foreign service, at least until further notice? Would your Lordship be willing to keep some such confidential list of names as that which we indicate and from time to time definitely to invite your younger clergy to face the question of volunteering? Such an offer might, we presume, be accompanied by any limitations as to sphere or term of service that God may have already made plain to the offerer; indeed, it is just to find guidance where these fail that the scheme is proposed. We say that we cannot judge for ourselves the comparative needs of the foreign and home policies of the Church. We note that it is not expected of the private soldier in an earthly army to select his own post and his own manœuvres. We do not think that it should be always left to private soldiers in the Divine army of aggression to do so. We think that those who stand on the Church's watch-towers may be willing to organise and direct us if they are once convinced that we are willing to obey orders and thankful to have them to obey."

In the course of his reply the Bishop refers to the cordial and filial relations existing between the clergy and himself ; he then goes on to say :

"Your letter rightly recognises that our ministerial commission is essentially world-wide, even as our Church is ; and that the choice of our place of service ought to be made in full view of the whole field. . . . You think, if I understand you rightly, that a Bishop, from his age and experience, is likely to know the needs of home and foreign work far better than you can, and to weigh them impartially. You think that if you follow his judgment where your own judgment fails you will be saved from the mis-givings which attend the fulfilment of a charge that has been self-sought, or taken, as it were, by chance and without conviction. And, above all, you think that if a Bishop is commissioned to 'send' no less than to 'ordain' ministers of Christ, he may look for special guidance if he undertakes the weighty charge which you propose to lay upon him. Taking account of all these things, I dare not decline the charge which you offer, however much I may shrink from it, believing most surely that, through the prayers of many, the grace which was given me at my consecration will help me in my endeavours to fulfil it. . . . *I accept the charge as a duty of my office.*"

In this letter of Bishop Westcott's I have italicised the words "I accept the charge as a duty of my office," to show that I am perfectly well aware that the great authority and learning of the Bishop is against me when I suggest that this charge is *not* a duty of the ordinary diocesan Bishop in England as such. It is necessary to observe the reasons which he gives for his conclusion. First, the intimate and filial relations of a deacon or priest to his Bishop in the first two years of the former's ministry make the latter a counsellor to whom it is reasonable for the former to resort. If all that the Bishop means is that it is the duty of his office to give *counsel* to those who reasonably seek it, this duty is undeniable, but is not peculiar to a Bishop's office, nor is counsel the same thing as direction or as sending. Second, a Bishop's *age and experience* make him more likely to know the needs of home and foreign work than the junior clergy. Thirdly, "and above all," writes the Bishop, the junior clergy had apparently referred to a question proposed by the Archbishop to the Bishop elect at his consecration, "Will you

be faithful in ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others?" Now this quotation apparently weighed much with Bishop Westcott. But what does it mean? The quotation is not ancient: it does not come from the Sarum Pontifical, nor does it stand in the form of 1549 nor of 1552. It is an insertion of the seventeenth century. It could not be said that no one in the seventeenth century thought of foreign missions, or at least of missions to the heathen "in our plantations." But surely it must be read altogether. "Ordaining" and "laying on of hands" refer to things which the Bishop would be sure to have to do in the round of his ordinary episcopal functions; must not "sending" be parallel to these, and is not its obvious sense "sending the newly ordained to their cures"? If it be objected that this is pleonastic, so is "laying on of hands" unless this should refer solely to taking a part in consecrating other Bishops. The reference to "sending" is therefore erroneous, unless the Bishop intends by it, that while those who added the words to the Ordinal meant one thing by them, the Holy Spirit meant them to take on in process of time another and larger meaning.

This discussion of Bishop Westcott's words points to the general conclusion that in what is before us he has shown no definite historical or canonical reason whatever for his statement, "I accept the charge as a duty of my office." The real ground of his decision is that he thinks his position as father in God should be understood as including the duty to give "counsel" to a priest who "without laying aside his own personal responsibility" seeks the Bishop's counsel as to his sphere of work because "there are no decisive claims at home or abroad to guide his choice." Nor must it be forgotten how carefully he restricted the cases in which he consented to give this "counsel."

It might be urged that it is not literally his office, but the experience and the acquaintance with the world-wide work of the Church incidental to his office, which imposes on a Bishop this duty. Whether this contention is contrary to history or not, it seems clear that it is contrary to fact and common sense. The acquaintance with the world policy of the Church necessary to enable a Bishop to

accept this responsibility may have been possessed by Bishop Westcott, but it can never be possessed by many Bishops. Further, it is contrary to common sense to suppose that so large a number of persons, so loosely co-operating, as the diocesan Bishops even of England alone, could direct the world policy of the Church.

After this discussion of some of the instances most relevant to the question proposed in the second half of this article we are in a better position to turn to the task of answering it. Who are the rulers of the Church to whom the world-policy of the Church belongs, and in what manner should they be obeyed?

To sons of the Church of England the ideal of the unity of the Church throughout the world is not an Imperial ideal. To the Roman Catholics that unity is symbolised and guaranteed by the one sovereign Pontiff. We stand for another, and, as we deem, a more primitive ideal, the ideal of local churches independent in their inner administration, but in communion with each other and gaining a visible unity in œcumenical councils. This ideal seems to us to have an affinity to the most modern of secular institutions, for it could readily be developed in the direction of that federal unity which binds together the diversities of the United States of America. While we do not hope to see in our lifetime the Roman Church or the Eastern Church entering into such a federal unity, we should like to see the affairs of the Anglican Communion organised in such a way that Christians of the generation of our grandchildren may have before them an existing example of this federal unity which under the grace of God they might apply to the whole of Christendom.

It will be no surprise to readers who have followed this discussion to hear that the view of the writer is that the world-policy of the Church is the duty of Patriarchs. In the Roman Church the Pope discharges this duty as the one Patriarch. We can never desire to make Canterbury another Rome. Such a notion is clean contrary to the ideal of federal unity. For us the federated provinces of the Anglican Communion must each have their Patriarch. And in order that their world-policy may be one and consistent;

indeed, in order that there may be a world-policy at all, the Patriarchs must be free to meet periodically to frame that policy, and to adapt it to the changing times. It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to discuss the difficulties incident to the determination of the question, which Archbishops should be counted as Patriarchs, and so forth. Let it suffice to say that the Patriarchs should be relieved in fact, if not in form, from the responsibility of administering dioceses. Their time and powers would be fully occupied by visitations, appellate jurisdiction in their provinces, and journeys in some cases across oceans to meetings of the Patriarchs, at least as often as every five years. How their deliberations would affect the individual priest and his vocation to a sphere of work, it is not necessary to explain here: it is sufficiently indicated in the suggestion given below, for a possible immediate course of action on the part of the English Archbishops. These remote dreams of œcumenical organisation are written here mainly because they indicate an ideal of ecclesiastical order which should suggest and control any temporary and provisional arrangement to be made with reference to present possibilities.

If then the Patriarchs of the great provinces of the Anglican Communion are those rulers of the Church to whom ought to be entrusted the duty of directing the world-policy of the Church, of organising the world-wide campaign of this army of the Lord, can this ideal be in any measure realised at once. This is a question for an expert in ecclesiastical organisation, but the writer hopes that his rashness may be pardoned, if he throws out a suggestion for discussion. No Englishman will ever discuss anything so willingly as a cut and dried practical plan. The practical point which governs the situation is that if at the present time clergy can be spared from any part of the Anglican Communion for service in other parts, that part is England. Therefore the first suggestion is, let the two English Archbishops be prayed to begin. Let them choose definitely for this purpose a very small number of advisers, out of the Boards of Missions, or whom they will. Let them cause these advisers to prepare and present to their Graces an annual report on the world-wide work of the Church, both

at home and abroad, stating the general aspects of the campaign, the amount of reinforcements required during the coming year here or there, the places which appear most able to supply them. From this report the Archbishops could determine what places or pieces of work they would endeavour to reinforce during the year, and roughly what numbers of men they wished to send. They could cause an account of these decisions of theirs to be sent to every diocesan Bishop in England with a request that he should endeavour to supply a certain number of priests (calculated upon the report of the home work of the Church) towards the reinforcements required. The diocesan Bishops from their own knowledge, together with such information as archdeacons, rural deans, diocesan Boards of Mission, and clergy missionary societies could supply, would call upon certain priests to offer themselves to the Archbishops for service. The diocesan Bishops would cause the names, qualifications, records of past work and experience, &c., of those whom they recommended to be sent to the Archbishops, who with their advisers would do their best to distribute them rightly among the places requiring reinforcement. They would endeavour (and in this they would be likely enough to succeed) to get the priests sent out and financed under the existing arrangements of missionary societies and missionary and colonial dioceses.

The difficulty of the scheme would lie in the part assigned to the diocesan Bishops. But here the scheme presents less difficulty than that of those who wish their own Bishops to follow, without any restrictions, the example of Bishop Westcott. They would throw on each individual Bishop the responsibility for the world-wide Church and its changing needs, which never has belonged to him; according to the proposed scheme he would merely be asked to act upon the estimate formed of these by the Archbishops. Again, it is obvious enough that at the present day the Bishop of an English diocese rules over such numbers of clergy and people as to give him the position of a metropolitan with too few, or no, Bishops under him. Consequently the Bishop who knows all his clergy so well as to give them all the direction desired does not exist. But it seems that the diocesan Boards of

Missions can have no more important function than that of constantly advising the Bishop as to the clergy whom he might consider as the possible objects of missionary vocation. The religious orders in the Church of England are too few and too small to provide us with the bulk of our missionary and colonial priests. If we are to avoid the present system of unorganised recruiting by commissaries and Bishops from over-seas, and to gain for the service of the Church abroad those priests who cannot discern for themselves the silent call of God—if, in short, we are to introduce into the movement of the forces of the Church any more order and precision, it must be by taking some advantage of the episcopal organisation as it actually exists. One of the most crucial elements in the problem is the necessity of adding as little as possible of new work or responsibility to men already overworked. This requirement seems to be met better by the scheme suggested in this article than by any unrestricted development of the experiment of Bishop Westcott. It has the further advantage that it does not give the direction of the great campaign as a whole to those who are primarily concerned with one part of it, but to the Archbishops who in our existing system have the best claim to patriarchal authority. For let it be observed that though the Bishop of a diocese would find this or that priest, the Archbishops might not in the event send him out; and, if they did, *they* would give him his general call, and *they* would recommend him to the Bishop abroad who would give him his particular call.

It remains to consider what obedience the individual priest would pay to such a call from the Archbishops made on the recommendation of his diocesan Bishop. It is most easy to give the answer in the form of a catalogue. The priest who felt a strong inward call to foreign missionary work would obey without doubt. The priest referred to on the first page and all like him would obey, or, if they would not, they do not mean what they say. The priest who has strong attachment to his present work, or strong inclination to a particular sphere abroad, or strong inclinations of any kind at variance with the call, would be wrong not to inform his diocesan, and, if the diocesan, in spite of this, sent on his name, he would, probably, be wrong not

to inform the Archbishops of these inclinations; but, if when they were known to the Archbishops, the latter in spite of them called the man, he would obey. There remains one case which might not end in obedience. To be a priest and to be a soldier are different things. An officer received an order from one of our great generals. "Yes, sir," he replied, "if you give me that order, I will carry it out, but it is certain death." The order was nevertheless given; the officer died. That is a soldier's duty. But suppose the Archbishops call a priest away from his present work to some other, would it be right for him to answer, "If you give me that call, I will go, but it is certain disobedience to God"? I cannot think so, and for the following reason. When the soldier joined the army, he undertook to give absolute obedience to his superior officer. Those who ordained me never put it to me that the call which I believed I had from God to be ordained involved my obedience to the Bishops or Archbishops in all things, but that it involved canonical obedience, which is presumably confined to my Bishop in his diocese and my Archbishop in his province. Absolute obedience in such matters as the determination of a sphere of work I did not at my ordination, nor do I yet, feel myself called of God by any inward call to render to any man. Some think that it is implied in their orders that they should render such obedience to their Bishops; therefore to them no such obedience can be disobedience to God. I do not think that there is such an implication in orders. I still hold that the priest, because he is a Christian, may be directly *θεοδιδακτος*, and though I consider it exceedingly unlikely that the Archbishops after all the prayer sent up by them and for them, after all the advice they would receive and all the responsibility they would feel, would issue a call that a priest could not obey without disobeying God, yet they are human, and a case is conceivable where a man might be bound to answer, "The Spirit of Jesus suffers me not," or, "I must obey God rather than men."

But this case would be very rare, and when the priest was wrong in giving the answer he would be a person of small value to the work. Therefore, roughly speaking, it is fair to suppose that obedience to such calling by the

Archbishops of men recommended by the diocesan Bishops would be general. How many men such a scheme would add to the number of priests who under present circumstances go abroad no man could say. But the great advantage of the scheme is not to be sought in numbers, but in the fact that the world-wide campaign of the Church would in the most important respect, that of the distribution of her forces, be considered and directed as a whole. This would give far greater weight to the call of the Archbishops than any external call can have to-day.

It will now be clear why it was stated above that the problem of missionary vocation could not be definitely solved from the point of view of the individual priest, but that a solution could be obtained from the point of view of the Church. If a real and well-considered scheme for the direction of the Church's work as a whole—a scheme which would commend itself to the commonsense of men of affairs—were in actual operation, then the importance of the obedience to it of individual priests would be so great that that obedience would appeal to their mind and conscience in a new way. The excellence of the system, the known knowledge of those who called, and the special attention which they were known continually to devote to the world-policy of the Church would add weight to their long-unused right to give the call. English Archbishops would never claim for their call a mechanical obedience. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," would be the spirit in which the call would be given, but it would be amply sufficient to command obedience, and that the obedience which no mechanical obligation can secure—the obedience of free wills which find their freedom in obeying at once the outward voice of God's officers and the inward voice of His Spirit.

If it be conceded that this is the ideal, what may be rightly done *ad interim*? In some dioceses small groups of clergy are gathering together to make offers to their diocesan Bishop similar to that made in 1896 to Bishop Westcott. These offers meet with various response. If the main contention of this article seems to have been made good, the corollary is clear, that these offers should be made (conditionally upon the diocesan Bishop granting

leave to each offerer to quit his diocese) to the Archbishop of the Province. It is not only those priests who were not clear whether they were called to go abroad or to stay at home who might make such an offer. All those who were convinced of missionary vocation might make a similar offer to serve beyond the seas wherever the Archbishops might send them. Any considerable number of volunteers in both these classes would probably bring about some such organisation as has been set forth above in order that the offers might be dealt with. Or if it did not, we should at least have a definite refusal of action from the Archbishops which would remit the matter to each individual for his own decision by any inward light that he might be given.

In conclusion, let no man speak slightly of "volunteering." It has existed, and must exist, under any system. Under the most strict rule the monk who felt a strong inward call to foreign missionary work would be wrong if he did not go to his superior and ask his permission to rise up and obey it. It would have been interesting to hear St. Gregory's answer if any one had told him that that man was bound to keep the inward call a secret till the superior gave him the outward call. Further, in general the inward call is necessary under any system. It is necessary to launch a man on a life of monastic obedience, or of any obedience similar to the monastic, just as truly as it is necessary to those who look to be *θεοδιδάκτοι* at all crises of their life. If the Church is the Lord's body, there must be authority and subordination among the members. But whether he be in authority or subordinate, every true member of the body must severally have the Spirit of the Lord.

E. J. PALMER.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIAN AND GENERAL KNOWLEDGE IN CHINA

IN the year 1887 the Rev Alexander Williamson, LL.D., of the United Presbyterian Mission, called together in Shanghai representatives of the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Methodist Episcopal Mission of America, to devise means for the speedier evangelisation of the Chinese Empire.

A million New Testaments had been circulated and commentaries had been written to explain our Scriptures to the Chinese without producing the result expected. Educational, medical, and evangelistic work of every kind did not produce more than about 30,000 converts per annum, while the natural increase of the population was one per cent. per annum—that is, four millions among a population of 400 millions. The conversion of the Chinese empire at this rate appeared remote.

Since evangelistic, medical, and educational work were all local, and the empire was so vast, why not, it was asked, adopt the apostolic method of writing and circulating an epistle direct to the Chinese, showing how Christianity solves the various problems of China's salvation in all its relationships, individual and national. It was evident that the Chinese were more in the habit of reading their religious books than having them expounded from the pulpit. It is through their books mainly that they have kept their three religions—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism—alive for 2,000 years and more.

It was accordingly decided to form the *Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese*.¹ The missionary societies soon began to co-operate

¹ In England it is often called the *Christian Literature Society for China*. The Chinese call it the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge.

in this work, and Christian laymen, with Sir Robert Hart as president, and many members of the consular, customs, and merchant services of all nationalities also joined.

It was a daring scheme for a handful of men to try and enlighten an Empire as large as all Europe put together, and with a population eight times as numerous as all Europe at the time of the Reformation. But nothing daunted, the missionaries took the chief share of the work on their shoulders, and the rest helped. They first prepared books and pamphlets (now amounting to over 250) on the leading factors in the progress of nations. Knowing that all the scholars of China who hold the Chinese degree reckoned equivalent to our B.A. are compelled to meet every three years at their eighteen provincial capitals, to compete for the equivalent of our M.A. degree, which is the stepping-stone to office, they secured the co-operation of many missionaries who resided in these capitals. These missionaries gladly undertook the free distribution of the Society's literature to the assembled host of competing students, who average in number from 5,000 to 10,000 in each province. So when these returned to their homes they carried the leaven of reform ideas based upon Christian principles to every county and town in the Empire.

Much was expected of the Society, and the result of its labours exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

How after a few years the Society captured two of the most brilliant literary men in the Empire; how these got 10,000 students to sign a memorial to the Emperor on repentance and reform in harmony with Christian civilisation; how the most literary Viceroy in the Empire supported the movement by considerable and successive subscriptions; how the most anti-foreign province in the Empire was converted to be one of the most friendly; how foreign books, which were formerly a drug in the market and never sold by the native booksellers, were afterwards pirated and reprinted in most of the provinces of the Empire; how within eight years the majority of one or two hundred thousand graduates in the Empire were converted from being anti-foreign and anti-missionary to being friendly to all foreigners and missionaries; how the Prime Minister and the Emperor's private tutors became friendly;

how the Emperor himself ordered a complete set of our publications ; and how firm was the faith of these young reformers that they readily risked all prospects, and even their lives, in order to save their country—all this is now well-known history.

The Empress-Dowager re-took the reins of government in order to prevent these reforms. But the tide of reform was too mighty for even the all-powerful Empress-Dowager to check. The Diffusion Society has for many years been advocating a complete reform in education as absolutely essential ; but for some time after the Court returned from Singanfu it was doubtful what the Empress-Dowager would do. Yet the change has come, not, however, through any pressure of the Allies, but by the efforts of the Diffusion Society. Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang got her to sanction the establishment of a University College in Shansi at our request, so as to remove the ignorance which was the cause of the Shansi massacres. Within three months after this an edict was issued commanding the establishment of a University College in every provincial capital in the Empire. This has taken place since 1901, and now fifteen out of the eighteen provinces have already opened these University Colleges.

Nor is this all the change commanded by the Empress-Dowager. She desired that there should be a better understanding between the Government and the missionaries, and for that end commanded the Chinese Foreign Office to consult two missionaries—one Protestant and one Roman Catholic—on the subject. The Protestant missionary is the general secretary of the Diffusion Society.

Equally marvellous is the wonderful work of Mrs. Archibald Little (somewhat loosely affiliated by co-operation with our Society), and many missionaries throughout the Empire, by which a hundred million crippled women are now in a fair way of being delivered in the next generation ; for anti-foot-binding societies have been organised throughout the whole Empire by officials and people, Christian and non-Christian, with the heartiest good-will.

Notwithstanding this marvellous result the Society is very poorly supported compared with the other departments

of mission work. There are 2,750 missionaries, men and women of all nationalities, engaged in China: in medical work 250, educational work 500, evangelistic work 2,000, literary work not a dozen! How can this extraordinary disproportion of men in the literary department be explained? If a needle gun or a Maxim gun is invented all the nations adopt it at once. One reason for the comparative neglect of literary work in China probably is that the appeals for help from those engaged in other departments are so numerous that the appeals for help from the few literary men are almost overlooked. Another reason is that there has never yet been a deputation to China to report on Mission work as a whole, and on the relative value of different departments of work.

Three or four other missionaries engaged in literary work, but not on the same lines as the Diffusion Society, are influencing the comparatively few non-influential Christians rather than influencing the many non-Christians who are in authority, while some are giving themselves only partially to literary work while mainly engaged in educational or other work.

The Japanese have adopted the methods of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge by advising the Chinese authorities, by providing professors for their colleges, by preparing text-books for their colleges and schools, and by directing their press. Instead of doing it on the small scale of Christian missions they use an immense staff which is distributing their literature throughout the Empire. If they use their opportunity to further the interest of mankind as a whole instead of mere national or racial interests, then we shall welcome them gratefully as powerful allies fighting the battles of the God of Truth.

What is England and Christendom doing to meet this great crisis—the greatest since the days when the Turks entered Constantinople, or the Mohammedans first took Jerusalem, or the Greeks drove back the Persians at Marathon. The Asiatic tide has begun to flow again over Christian possessions. It behoves us to rise above national and selfish interests to think how God in heaven looks down on the quarrels of men on earth. We must look above all denominational interests to think of the eternal

principles of life, light, and love which underlie the best that is in all religions, and strive to have His will done in earth as it is in heaven.

I will conclude with two suggestions in addition to the valuable ones made by Mr. Bitton in your last issue on the educational outlook in China. Let us get twenty missionary statesmen placed one in each provincial capital and two in Peking. These must be the very cream of our universities, who shall commend themselves to the Chinese authorities by keeping them well informed about the best influences in the world, and shall endeavour to unite all the Christian forces in their respective provinces, and shall provide the best general literature and guide the Press.

Let us get a few laymen who have more money than they know how to use well to invest their money in the support of these missionary statesmen without appealing for any money to the ordinary subscribers to missions. Let this be a new departure of a mission of the wealthy and the influential to the wealthy and influential in order that all classes, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, East and West, may co-operate to establish the Kingdom of God on earth in this generation. God calls for volunteers with brains, money, and grace. Who will respond?

TIMOTHY RICHARD.

THE "RAW" KAFFIR AND THE CHRISTIAN

IT was a foolish and childlike expedient which Balak, King of Moab, resorted to when he tried to extract from Balaam the curse which had hitherto changed upon his lips into a blessing on the armies of Israel. He took him, we read, to a part of the mountains of Moab from which he could see only the "uttermost part of the people" that he might curse them from thence. And yet this is the expedient which the enemy of souls still employs when he seeks to withstand the victorious advance of the Kingdom of God. The familiar objection to missionary appeals, that "there are heathen enough at home," is the means which he makes use of. For if we can only be persuaded to limit our view to the "uttermost part" of the armies of God, if we yield to this specious pretext and are content to take this narrow and parochial view of religion, the result is likely to be that it loses for us its grandeur and inspiration, and we are soon content to leave these "heathen at home" to the clergy. For when we have deliberately shut out of our view, and of our interest, the vast campaign and have limited ourselves to our own little skirmish of outposts, it soon follows that we find pretexts for excusing ourselves altogether from that which, after all, is not our business, but that of the spiritual "regulars"—the clergy who are paid to do it. If religion is only this small parochial affair, getting Smith to come to church, or enlisting Mrs. Brown for the mothers' meeting, or Master Robinson for the Sunday School, then all this may well be left to the clergy. It does not concern the ordinary man of the world. But if religion be something quite other than this, if it be a world-wide warfare for the establishment in all lands and among all peoples of the Kingdom of God, the reign of righteousness and love as against the dominion of selfishness and worldliness and sin,

if we have before us any sort of panorama, however inadequate, of the whole great battlefield, then it reacts upon our own individual view of religion and our interest in those very parochial concerns which seemed before so small and insignificant, and we come back with the inspiration of the large outlook upon us to do the small things in a great spirit.

But supposing that we have successfully withstood the attempt to limit our view to the "uttermost part of the people," refused to be blinded to the needs of the whole army of God by the pretext of the "heathen at home," another difficulty meets us. There is the confident assertion of Colonials or Anglo-Indians as to the failure of missions and the undesirableness of mission natives. Here, for instance, is an example of what all of us I suppose have heard again and again. This particular letter was cut out of the newspaper some time ago, but a dozen other samples could be produced whenever the matter happens to come under discussion :—

"Speaking from an experience of twenty-five years" (the writer says), "I quite agree with . . . the statement that for a fair day's work the raw native without any Christian teaching is far and away the best. It is a notorious fact that the morals of the Mission station natives are far below the standard of the raw native. There are in Griqualand West some of the oldest mission stations established in the country, and a more useless, drunken, and lazy lot could not be found than those who live on these stations. Get the opinion of any practical man whose business or duties bring him constantly in contact with natives, such as farmers, mining men, Government officials, &c., and you will undoubtedly find that he is entirely opposed to missionaries and their work as usually carried on in this country,"

(and so on—a good deal more of the same sort).

Now of course this is a serious matter when a colonist of twenty-five years' experience can write in this confident strain, and naturally enough many a man of the world will say, "Hitherto I have heard only one side of the case. I have been to missionary meetings and heard the glowing account of the missionaries themselves. But, after all, missionaries are not always calm and judicially-minded and disinterested witnesses. They are men of strong feeling,

who are apt to be carried away by sentiment, and sometimes they are actually pleading for their own cause, and are bound to make the best of it. But here is a calm and impartial man of the world who tells me as his deliberate judgment that missions are a failure and raw Kaffirs better than Christians."

When I first went to Natal I heard this sort of thing so persistently, and that not merely from outsiders, from those who made no profession of religion themselves, but actually from churchgoers and communicants, that I felt bound to suspend my judgment and keep an open mind until I had seen and heard for myself at first hand. I do not mean that I kept an open mind as to my duty to convey the Gospel to the heathen. To have an open mind on that would have been disloyalty to my marching orders, but I tried to keep an open mind as to possible failures of our present methods and possible justification for the sweeping condemnations which I heard so often. So I held my tongue and opened my eyes and ears. And my work took me into all sorts of society where I had every opportunity of looking at the problem from all points of view and through everyone's eyes. I went the round every year of all the mission stations in Natal, conversed as freely as I could with missionaries, with natives, Christian and heathen, with farmers and with merchants and men of business in the towns and with Government officials, and now, after a good many years of calm and I hope dispassionate and impartial consideration, I venture to give a few of the results at which I have arrived.

First of all I find that our friend whose letter I have quoted is wrong as to the testimony of those who know the natives best—Government officials and magistrates. Many, at all events, of such officials have given the strongest possible testimony in exactly the opposite sense. It is invidious to mention names where so many have spoken, and many such names, though well known in South Africa, may not be widely known in England; but among those who are to some extent known here I may single out Sir Marshall Clark and Mr. Saunders, the resident magistrate at Eshowe (as he was in my time, though I believe he now fills a higher post). Sir Marshall Clark

has again and again borne witness to the higher standard of moral life to be found among Christian natives as compared with the standard of the heathen kraals, and Mr. Saunders gave practical proof of his belief when he asked that the native escort which was to accompany him in the annexation of Zambaan's country might be composed of Christian natives, and he has since declared that among the Christian natives of Zululand there is practically no crime.

And these men the magistrates and native commissioners really know. But the average colonist does not know and has really no right to pronounce a verdict on Christian missions. And here I speak strongly and deliberately, the ordinary Colonial layman, say in towns like Durban and Maritzburg, knows less about missions and their results than the average Churchman in England, and this for the simple reason that he never goes near a mission station. He judges by any chance native whom he may come across, who calls himself a Christian or has been to a mission school. I tried hard and continuously to get our best people, our most faithful communicants, to pay an occasional visit to a mission or Indian school, and with one or two rare exceptions I utterly failed. So strong was the prejudice that good and earnest English ladies could not be prevailed on to pay even a short visit or to show the most elementary sisterly interest in the little Indian girls by giving an occasional sewing lesson, though the schools were at their very doors. But it is in the up-country mission stations where the native is least contaminated by the vices of low Europeans that the results of mission work can best be judged, and those are just the places that a white man knows absolutely nothing about, unless he happens to be an intimate friend and neighbour of the missionary. There are devoted workers enough at such missions, both men and women, but in the vast majority of cases such workers have come out from England.

Secondly, these critics of missions expect too much. Of course there are many failures among our converts, those who have lapsed, those who have never been more than half-Christians, those who have been actuated by

worldly motives in putting themselves under instruction and who turn out only rather exceptionally astute rogues. But what else is to be expected? Is it likely that with a nation of barbarians who have behind them centuries of heathenism, in which their fathers have been developing their animal natures at the expense of all that is higher, we are likely in the course of a single generation to turn out a nation of saints? We do not expect it, and we do not find it. We are not disappointed if here and there among them we find a true and devoted Christian really coming near to the level of saintliness. But, after all, what is our experience in England? We clergy know well enough as we look round our congregations that it is only the one here and there who is really leading the new life, really taking up the cross, really dying to the world, really making the service of the Crucified the supreme aim of life. We know that the majority, though they would be startled and shocked to hear it, are but called Christians by courtesy, judged by the standards of the Gospel itself. And yet if we can point to one here and one there who is really living the crucified life, really following humbly day by day in the steps of Jesus, we know that our work is not in vain. For it has always been so, in every age and in every country, that it is the few, the "remnant," the little flock, to whom is entrusted the Kingdom, the few who are the light of the world, the salt of the earth. And yet in our days as much as in the first days of the Church that salt does work, it does keep the world from its corruption, it is the few who are the light of the world, and as long as that succession of saintly souls is maintained the light is handed on, and does save the world from its darkness. And in spite of many failures we can point to such results in the little communities of Zulu and Basuto Christians in South Africa.

Again, I am ready to confess quite frankly that missionaries do make mistakes. They would be a curiosity among men if they did not. Some mistakes are those of individual missionaries, some are those of the system in vogue, for which very probably the missionary has but a small share of responsibility. Among mistakes of this latter kind let us take the one which the writer quoted

mentions—the mission reserves on which now and again are to be found lazy and useless (so-called) Christians. Probably the system of mission reserves which belongs to the early days of our Colonies is not an ideal one. This system was for the Government to assign considerable districts to missionary societies of various denominations as their sphere of influence. The natives living on the reserve are under a more or less slender control of the missionary in charge. It has often happened that this system works badly ; for there is a danger that natives of bad character who have got into trouble with their chiefs come and settle on the mission reserve, and so it becomes the dumping ground for all the refuse population of the lowest type and the reserve gets a bad name. But, after all, whose fault is this? Not the fault of the single-handed overworked missionary with his very slender power of control ; the fault, perhaps, of the Governments who started the system, the fault to some extent of us in England, who have supported the work in so meagre a way that where there ought to be a strong staff of workers, who could maintain a more effective discipline, we have left the single missionary to struggle on, perhaps adding to the care of his immense reserve far-off out-stations where he felt he could not leave untended small scattered communities of native Christians living amid heathen kraals.

But let us come to possible mistakes of individual missionaries. The haunting fear of many of these colonists who malign the missionaries is that they are teaching the natives dangerous doctrines of equality. It may have been so here and there. I do not believe it is so among our Church missions. I have never come across missionaries who teach the natives doctrines of equality, nor do I believe that that is the true doctrine. Equality ! What equality can there be between the native just emerging from barbarism and the Englishman who is the heir of a thousand years of Christian civilisation ? They are not and they cannot be equals. Nor do I find the doctrine of equality in the New Testament. On the contrary, St. Paul teaches us that in the Christian Body there are more honourable and less honourable members. Not *equality*, as it seems to me, but *brotherhood*, is the Christian ideal.

They are not our equals but they are our brothers—little brothers it may be—but all the more for that reason needing our consideration, our sympathy, may I not say our love? We ought to be capable of learning how to display these qualities without running any of the risks which the colonists are afraid of; for in the background of their minds when they dislike missions the colonists have the dread of that which they are right in regarding as dreadful—the intermingling of races at such different levels as the English and the Bantu. Within any horizon which we at present can see any such intermingling is likely to be, as it is to-day, simply disastrous, producing nothing but unhappiness in every relation of life. But is there any real fear of this through the action of Christian missions? Is there any risk that the doctrine of brotherhood may lead to intermarriage? Why should it? We urge the young ladies of Belgravia to regard the costermongers of Whitechapel as brothers and to work among them as such, but we do not suggest that they should marry them, and as a matter of fact they do not do so.

Once again, these colonist friends of ours who condemn our operations do not distinguish between the Christian native and the school Kaffir. They know only two classes of natives. There is the raw Kaffir in all his imagined glory of innocence and integrity. He is easily distinguished. He comes from his kraal in his blanket or such minimum of clothes as a Government Mrs. Grundy, anxious to preserve proprieties, insists upon. Then on the other hand is the "Christian Kaffir" (a contradiction in terms, be it noted, for Kaffir means "Infidel"). And he too is, as the colonist imagines, easily distinguished, for he wears European clothes and has a smattering of English, and will tell you that he comes from a mission school. So possibly he does, but this as little proves that he is a Christian as the fact of a child out of the slums going to a non-provided school proves that he is a Churchman. He may not be a Christian in any sort of sense, he may not have the vaguest idea of what it means to be a Christian, he may have gone to school merely to pick up a smattering of education with the idea of getting higher wages; and yet if that man turns out, as he is not unlikely to, less

trustworthy than the raw heathen from his kraal, a new proof is at once furnished of the pernicious effect of Christianity upon the natives. And so with this ever-accumulating proof, as it seems, the parrot cry spreads from mouth to mouth and is repeated with ever-increasing confidence until it becomes an accepted axiom of the young English clerk lately from England, "The raw Kaffir is better than the Christian." If these are entitled to be called Christian—these "school Kaffirs" whom I have described—then I freely subscribe to the doctrine of the superiority of the raw Kaffir. Nay, I will go further and say, not only that the raw Kaffir is better than the Christian Kaffir, but that he is better in many instances than the Christian Englishman. And it is easy enough to illustrate this. One Sunday afternoon soon after my last return from England to Natal it happened that we were in great straits for native servants. The only boy we had obtained on arrival had fallen sick and we were left almost without help. It happened that a native boy came down the street and said he wanted work. We took him, metaphorically, to our arms at once. We said, "You are just the boy we want;" and so we established him at once as our servant and he began operations there and then. We asked for no "character," we made no inquiries as to his last place. That was not the usual practice, and we had no fears. A week later I started on a journey and left my whole house, with everything just as it was, unlocked and open, in charge of that "boy" and one other of whom I knew as little. I came back as I expected to, finding everything just as I had left it, in perfect order and safety. Now I do not think I should have done this in the case of a "Christian Englishman," and if I had I fear I should have been pronounced very rash if not guilty of exposing people to undue temptations. And what is the inference? Do we say, "Then we must convert the Christian Englishman to the religion of the Kaffir?" We only say, "We must make the Christian Englishman a better Christian—a Christian not in name but in fact."

There is no doubt that the raw Kaffir has many good points, among which trustworthiness and a strong sense of justice rank high. But those who praise the raw Kaffir forget those numerous other points in which he is far less

desirable. The life of the heathen kraals is in many ways gross and sensual, and no one who really knows would think of comparing the moral tone of our mission stations with that of the wedding feasts and beer-drinkings of the heathen.

But, after all, this desire for the raw Kaffir in his uncontaminated rawness is unattainable, for it is not Christianity that makes it every day more rare. These natives have come into contact with Europeans, whether for good or for evil, and there is no going back. You might as well say, "This little child is so infinitely sweeter and more innocent than these grown men. Let the child remain a child." But, alas! it cannot be. For good or for evil the child must grow into the man; and, though the risks of that development are great, we all know it *is* a development, and we would not if we could go back. These natives are also passing through that dangerous stage. But yet it is the necessary change from childhood to the freedom and the power of manhood. And it rests with us, and the responsibility is tremendous, to see that that change is a development and not a decline.

There is one thing more to be said about that parrot cry, "The raw Kaffir is better than the Christian." The people who raise it want the native to be as much as possible a mere machine. No doubt it is in many ways convenient to have a servant who is content to be a mere machine, though in that case it is hardly reasonable for the master to lose his temper if the native, like a mere machine, does not think. We have no right to expect intelligence from mere machines. And no doubt the heathen Kaffir has less wants than the Christian. He does not, like the Christian, want to go to church or to night school, and in many ways his life is simpler. But there is a deeper question, and that is, Is it good for us to use any brother man as a mere machine? If we read the lesson of history aright, does it not tell us that wherever a higher race has used a lower as its mere tool the result has been, as in the case of the Greeks and Romans with their slave populations, a deterioration of the higher?

But it is no new thing, this prejudice against the free admission of native races to the privileges of citizenship in the Kingdom of God. It is as old as the Christian Church, and older. The tendency to identify religion with

the family or the nation may be a survival from times long gone by, but it survives with wonderful vitality. And it was the central struggle of St. Paul's life to establish the Catholicity of the Church and to proclaim to all the nations of the earth that they are "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints." It is easy to obtain assent to the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." It is less easy to check the tendency to ask the question, "But who is my neighbour?" and to ask it with the assumption of a limit.

It was this same inveterate prejudice that brought to so swift and untimely an end the loving communism of the infant Church. It was easy to have all things common as long as no questions of race intervened, but when once the admission on terms of equality of the Gentiles was mentioned the communism broke up, and the murmurings of the "Grecian against the Hebrews," which had already been heard, grew into the furious and fanatical attacks of Jewish conservatives against what must have seemed the dangerous and subversive cosmopolitanism of St. Paul.

But, after all, this prejudice is in reality a test of ourselves and our grasp of the Christian faith. It is *we* who are on our trial and not the Kaffirs. Of course, if religion be to us one of the secondary things of life, a mere matter of the circumference but not of the centre of our life, a thing of Sunday, an ornamental addition, like our Sunday clothes, then it is possible to discuss the question whether natives of Africa need this religion of ours, or whether they cannot do just as well, if not better, without it. But if religion be to us something quite other than this, a matter not of the circumference but of the very centre, not an accident but the one essential, if we, like St. Paul, can say, "Old things are passed away, behold all things are become new," "What things were gain to me, these I counted loss for Christ," if Christ has brought to us a new motive, a new joy, a new life, then it must seem to us sheer waste of time to discuss the question whether any human being, made like ourselves with a mind to know, and a heart to love, and a soul to aspire towards, the God in whose image he is made can do without that gospel which to us is the Gospel of Life.

HAMILTON BAYNES (Bishop).

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

I HAVE been asked to put down a few of the thoughts about the Kaffirs which came to me through my short experience of them during the South African mission. It may, indeed, appear ridiculous at first sight for one whose experience of native work is so slight as mine is to offer any opinion on a subject so vast, so complicated, and so contentious. Yet I hope the following article may not be entirely without value if only for this very reason, that I do not write as an expert. There must surely be among the readers of *EAST AND WEST* many thousands of earnest Christian people who appreciate the immense responsibility which God has laid upon us in South Africa, and who without either the wish or the opportunity to become experts in the matter would yet like to see for themselves what sort of man the Kaffir is, and, as plain men without any special experience or knowledge, to consider how the problem looks from the outside. That is what I have tried to do. Owing to various causes with which I need not trouble my readers, the scheme of work planned for me in South Africa in connection with the Mission of Help was too small to occupy my time fully. I was therefore able, with the consent of my superior, to accept the invitation of one of the South African bishops to do what the missionaries in general were not supposed to do, to visit places where there was no resident clergyman, and to do any work which might be possible among the natives. In this way I was brought into contact with several native catechists and teachers, and was able to see how they worked apart from direct white supervision; and talking to them alone without the presence of any English clergyman, I tried to judge of their character and ability, intellectual, moral and spiritual. Also in conducting

services for the natives, both in English, and through an interpreter in Dutch and in the native dialect, in taking about a dozen native weddings and in examining and afterwards baptizing about seventy natives of various ages from seven to seventy-eight, I was enabled to form some opinion as to the character and capabilities of the ordinary native. I do not suppose my conclusions are in themselves of special value, but they may possess a sort of value as being the opinions to which the plain man, the man in the street, the man in the pew, would be likely to come to if he had the same opportunity. And it is with the man in the street and in the pew that the future of South Africa rests, and it is them that I want to arouse to a sense of the enormous responsibility which God has laid on us.

For no thinking man can deny that the colour problem is far and away the most pressing of all the problems which call for solution at the present day. All other problems are in comparison trivial, parochial, and of but local interest. If I claim at all the name of Imperialist—

Defamed by every charlatan,
And soiled with all ignoble use—

I claim it as one who believes that God has committed the solution of this problem to the Anglo-Saxon peoples. And in many ways the problem as it meets us in South Africa is more difficult and more important than it is anywhere else. In India we govern a greater number of coloured people, but in India there is no question of replacing native by European civilisation. Indian customs, Indian ideals have been in the past, and no doubt will be in the future, largely modified by European influences, and will in their turn influence and modify Western methods of life and thought. But there is not, there cannot be, any question of a complete change in the form of Indian civilisation. The Europeanisation of Indian life is as unthinkable as it is undesirable. But there must of necessity be a complete revolution in South African native life, a revolution extending to the minutest detail. The problem of how to deal with the native races so as to draw out the best that is in them is therefore much more difficult in South Africa than in a country already provided

with an ancient and in many ways admirable civilisation of its own.

And if it is more difficult it is also more important. The native races of New Zealand, Australia and North America seem to be vanishing races, and if we mishandle them the inevitable course of nature will wipe out our mistakes. This does not absolve us from our duty to the individual while he still lives, for the value of one human soul is infinite, but it makes the question of how to treat the race as a whole less important. But the Bantu races are far from being on the decline. On the contrary, they seem to be a particularly strong, virile stock, and increase more rapidly than white people. If we make a mistake here we shall have to reap a bitter harvest. I would even venture to say that the problem of the native of South Africa is a more important one than that of the negro in the United States. The proportion of negroes there to whites has fallen steadily from 18·88 per cent. in 1800 to 11·65 per cent. in 1900, while even in the Southern States, where the proportion of coloured is about 38 per cent., and in the so-called Black Belt, where it is about 46 per cent., there has been a fractional decrease. In South Africa, however, the proportion in Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, Transvaal and Basutoland is over 80 per cent., and if the whole of Rhodesia, or even so much of it as lies south of the Zambezi, be included, this proportion would be still further increased. No doubt the steady development of South Africa's boundless resources will bring an ever increasing number of white people into the country, but the coloured man is there already and must be taken into consideration.

But more important even than the number is the quality of the natives. However undesirable a preparation slavery may have been for the negro of the Southern States, it was some preparation for the duties of civilisation. But the South African native often steps in a moment from the pure savagery of the kraal to all the complicated difficulties and temptations of a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants. Under the stimulus of gold and diamonds the progress of parts of South Africa has been so extraordinarily rapid that men in a complete state of nature have

been brought almost without preparation into contact with western civilisation at its worst, and the position is one fraught with the greatest dangers and difficulties. The problem is this, to give the native an opportunity of working out for himself a civilisation which shall bring out all the best of which he is capable. It must be no mere formal, external, imitation of the European, but a real vital growth rooted in the nature of the Bantu, and growing up according to its own laws of growth. And my excuse for writing of such a thing in *THE EAST AND THE WEST* must be my conviction that such growth is only possible by the power of the Holy Spirit. Where the Spirit is there is life : he that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life.

At this point we may consider an objection often raised, even by Christians, when discussing the work of missions. "Why," they say, "do you want to interfere with the natives at all? Why not let them go on as they were? Their religion and their manner of life may not be suitable for us, but they are the best for them. Look at the discipline of the kraals. You will only spoil fine savages and make wretched Christians. Much better let them go on as they were." The answer is that we cannot leave them as they were. The life of the Kaffir in a state of nature was in many ways an excellent one ; the discipline of the kraals was effective if severe, but the whole economy of the Kaffir life rested on two twin pillars, namely, intertribal war and cattle-owning. It is as impossible to conceive of that life without these two things, as to think of the life of a London business man going on as it was, but without banks, newspapers, post-office and railways. Yet it is obvious that the inevitable advance of western civilisation has rendered these things impossible for the Kaffirs. We have their land ; we cannot permit tribal fights in the streets of Johannesburg or Kimberley. We have taken away all that gave meaning and an aim to their old life, and we must supply something else.

But this brings us to the second question, Is the Kaffir capable of anything better ; or is the black man cursed by a weakness and instability of nature which renders him incapable of any high or permanent civilisation?

This is a very important question. I was talking a little time ago with a man of wide experience who had worked and made money in America, in the West Indies, and in South Africa from the Cape to the North of Rhodesia, and he maintained strongly that all experience was against the possibility of the negro peoples being capable of any high development. He instanced the failure of the negro in Hayti, and the constant failure of all attempts to raise the moral and social standard of the negroes in the West Indies. He spoke strongly, but perhaps not too strongly, of the difficulties of the problem in the Black Belt in the Southern States of U.S.A., and he declared that the wisest and in the end kindest thing was to keep the black man in a state of strict, yet just and benevolent, slavery. I do not know enough either to endorse or dispute his conclusions, and even if his facts are as stated there is still the question how far the failure of the negro is due to inherent faults of character, and how far to the loss of self-respect due to generations of slavery, a loss which the same number of generations of freedom may repair. But in any case I do not think we can safely argue from the pure negro to the Bantu races. For, if there is one fact which stands out plain from among the welter of ethnological problems in South and Central Africa, it is this, that the Bantu races are not a pure negro race. Indeed everything, their own traditions, their history as far as it is known, and their physical peculiarities of hair, facial angle, cranial development, &c., all seem to point to the fact that they, like ourselves, are an exceptionally mixed race, uniting many stocks. And if, as many competent judges believe, they have a very large admixture of Arab, or, at any rate, Semitic blood, then we may expect them to show, under favourable circumstances, very marked capabilities for civilisation. No division of the human race can boast a record of civilisation at once so ancient, so varied, and so prolific in new departures as the Semitic, and it is not unthinkable that the future will show a Bantu civilisation not unworthy of being the successor of the Arabian civilisation of the middle ages or the ancient Semitic empires of the dawn of history. But turning from theory to fact, it is impossible to read South African history

without recognising that the various Bantu races have shown a power of combination, a capacity for organised effort, and a tendency to produce men of first-rate ability, quite unknown among purely negro races. It is only necessary to mention such names as Tshaka and Dingaan, the organisers of the Zulu power; Moselekatse, the founder of the Matabele; Moshesh, by far the ablest black ruler known in South Africa since the arrival of Europeans in the country, and one who may claim to have created the mixed people commonly known as Basutos; and Khama, the Bechuana who is worthy to stand in history by the side of our own King Alfred.

As far as my own experience goes, I must confess to having been astonished at the high level of character and ability which seemed to be displayed. The first thing which, naturally enough, attracted my attention, was the religion of the converts. I attended a native evensong, at which I was the only white man present, on my first Sunday evening in South Africa; and, though I could not understand a word, I was deeply impressed by the apparent reverence and devotion of the congregation, and the evident zeal and earnestness of the native catechists. On inquiry, I found that at a time of high wages and great shortage of native labour, there was a steady supply of men who could have earned four pounds a month and food, who are willing to work for their bare food while being trained as lay readers and catechists, though the financial outlook after training could never compare with that of a labourer. Constantly I was astonished at the distances which whole families would walk in all weathers to be present at the weekly Eucharist. When I was celebrating in one village in the Karroo, where there was no resident clergyman, the native deacon said to me, after the celebration, that I should doubtless be surprised that there were only twenty-six communicants instead of the thirty-one on the roll, but Jantyi Manttala had died since the Archdeacon's last visit, Hans Misi was away working on the railway, &c. At another place where I had to put a native celebration very early owing to the hour of the service for the Europeans, the entire number of communicants were present before daylight in the intense cold of a South

Africa winter dawn. Nor, though the natives sing very heartily and are said to appreciate a full ceremonial, did there seem to be any of the ecstatic and emotional character about their religion which is sometimes complained of in negro congregations. Their behaviour, as I saw it, was always quiet, reserved, and dignified.

It is, however, a frequent complaint against native Christians in every quarter of the world that they are religious without being moral. I made careful inquiries as to the honesty and chastity of the Bantu wherever I went, taking care to seek the opinion of those most opposed to the native, as well as of those who might be considered his friends. On one point there was an almost unanimous opinion: the native should be a teetotaller. If there is any country in the world where universal prohibition would be justified, it is South Africa. Drink, and especially bad spirits, are Satan's strongest weapon. As to honesty, I was astonished what I was told. The Fingoes and the Amaxosa are said to be thieves—I know nothing of them—but the Zulus and the Basutos are wonderful. Time and again I was told, "You can always trust a native boy with anything but spirits." "If you trust a boy, even one quite raw from the kraal, you will never be robbed." "I would sooner trust a Basuto boy than half the white men I know," and so on. Some of the stories that I heard of natives left in charge of houses and farms during the war, and rendering strict account of their stewardships after an interval of two or three years, were wonderful.

The question of sexual morality is a more difficult one. Occasionally terrible crimes are reported; and undoubtedly the sudden relaxation of the discipline of the kraals, and the deplorable effect of the presence in South Africa of large and increasing numbers of prostitutes from Europe—chiefly, it appears, from Russia and Austria—has occasioned great difficulty. But, in judging the whole race, several things must be remembered, such as, (1) that the cases are very few when all the circumstances are taken into account, (2) that rape, even with violence, of a coloured woman by a white is little regarded, while that of a white woman by a native creates an outburst of indignation, and (3) that white people are often unintentionally much to blame by

their foolish treatment of the native. Several men who discussed the matter with me remarked that women, who would be most particular in the case of a white man, seemed to regard the black man almost as if he were a child or an animal, and would allow native servants (male) to come into their rooms in the morning to bring tea and place the bath, when they would never have allowed an adult white. I myself saw a singular act of folly. I was walking to an outlying village, and when I was a good number of miles from any house, met a gig in which a very pretty, elaborately dressed and effeminate little woman was being driven by a particularly ferocious-looking black. She stopped to speak and presently remarked, "You need not mind the boy; he knows no English. He is quite raw from the kraal; we have only had him three days." Yet she was driving with him miles from anywhere, and at every jolt the two were bumping against one another. I remarked on the occurrence to my host, who merely said, "Oh, we all trust our boys; you can't help taking a few risks in a country like this." Of one thing, however, I am sure. Daily the once strict discipline of the kraals grows less effective, and if Chinese vices are to be grafted on to Kaffir hotness of blood, South Africa will soon be a hell from which imagination recoils.

I do not want to paint an ideal picture of the Kaffirs nor to represent them as perfect, but I must say I formed a very high opinion of them. But the old order is changing so rapidly, the raw material is pouring in on our hands so fast, and the machinery for dealing with it so inadequate, that the problem is a most pressing one. For the work is nothing less than the creation of a nation. Booker Washington, in his book *Up from Slavery*—a book all who are interested in the colour question should get and read—says that what the emancipated slaves needed was not professors to teach them, but human hearted men and women who would give their lives for them, living among them, teaching them the first elements of living, how to eat, how to sleep between sheets, how to wash, how to use a tooth-brush. And such it seems to me is the need in South Africa. And the workers must be large minded enough to look further than their own conventions. The

Kaffir must not be made a mere poor imitation of the white, a second-hand, second-rate European. In Church and State alike we want the coloured man to be, not the white man's poor relation, living in the back streets, doing the worst paid work, sitting in the side aisle at worship, and communicating when the white man has done. No! let him develop on his own lines, working out, under the free action of God the Holy Spirit, the best of which he is capable, neither superior nor inferior to the white man, but something distinct, complementary. Only so it seems to me can rivalry, jealousy, and mutual hatred be avoided. I remember once seeing in the *Strand Magazine* a picture of a native boy who had pushed his arms through the legs of a pair of old riding knickers, and his legs through two old crownless top hats. And so, for all the grace and beauty of his splendidly made form, he stood a ridiculous object. Was not the picture somewhat of an allegory? The cast-off cloths of our civilisation won't fit the black man; he must strike out something for himself. And those who would, under God, be his nurses and tutors, must be great minded enough to encourage and not cramp this free development, recognising that in it, as surely as in any other natural life, worketh the one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every one severally as He will.

The work will be hard, but surely it is worth doing. I believe our future as a nation depends on how we do God's work in South Africa. And surely in this continent, if anywhere, we may hope, for nowhere has England a nobler record than in Africa. In the North, Lord Cromer and his band of heroic helpers have fashioned a nation out of the broken fragments of a dying civilisation, and given to broken spirited slaves the name and the courage of free men. Central Africa is rich with memories of our work of breaking oppression and setting the captive free, that work against the slave trade which the late Mr. Lecky called the one perfectly virtuous national act in the whole of human history. Are we to fail in South Africa? I cannot think so. Not, certainly not, if we go there in the spirit in which so much of our work has been done abroad, the spirit which makes the good and welfare of the native the supreme end. I remember hearing the vexed

question of flogging the native discussed, and one man said, "Flog him by all means, if you are certain you flog him for his sake and not for your own." I don't know if flogging is necessary, but this I am certain, whatever is done must be done *for the sake of the native*. We must not repeat the mistake which is the fundamental fault of slavery, the fault of treating a man as if he were a mere means to our ends, and not a supreme end in himself. If we go to South Africa seeking our own good we shall lose it; if we are prepared to lose our own good for the sake of the Kaffir, we shall find it here and hereafter.

PETER GREEN.

MISSIONS AND CASTE

CASTE may be regarded as one of the most inflexible and overmastering social tyrannies which the world has ever known. Its loss to the devout Hindu involves, in his estimation, a combination of sufferings and terrors of which we, who view the matter from the outside, can hardly conceive. The overthrow of caste by any violent or arbitrary measures seems impossible. It can only be overcome by a long, slow, disintegrating process, set in motion by gradual modifications in public opinion, heroic instances of martyr-like courage and fortitude, forced adjustments to the exigencies of practical life under modern conditions, the cumulative pressure of reform agitation, and the irresistible thrall of Christian love, emphasising the lesson of human brotherhood and the oneness of life in Christ.

The British Government has exerted its power, to some extent, in mitigating caste domination ; yet, as is no doubt wise, it has dealt with the matter in a very guarded and restrained manner. Caste combinations and their exactions are not allowed free scope in the native army regulations, the Mutiny of 1857 having afforded a never-to-be-forgotten lesson of their dangers. Public wells are made free to all, although there are numerous private wells for the use of high-caste people only. Government schools, post-offices, and public buildings are open to all, and no caste lines are allowed to be drawn in ferries or railway conveyances.¹ The handling of electrical appliances for public use has also inflicted a damaging blow upon class exclusiveness. There is, moreover, no favouritism in the

¹ It was John Clark Marshman, the son of the Serampore missionary, who obtained from the orthodox Brahman authorities the decision that the Hindu devotee might ride in a railway carriage without losing the merit of his pilgrimage. This was the beginning of fatal inroads upon the supremacy of the caste system. See Smith, *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, p. 239.

public service, caste being regarded, in theory at least, as no drawback or prohibitive barrier to a worthy candidate. In the courts, too, the administration of justice is not willing to sanction any supercilious introduction of factitious discriminations.

On the other hand, caste in its minute details and ramifications is recognised and registered in census reports, save that Christians are not required to give their original caste connections. In official documents and legal papers notice is often taken of its classifications, when it would seem to be more dignified and entirely proper for the Government officially to ignore such artificial distinctions. The Madras Census Report of Dr. Cornish (1871) contains an "Introduction on Caste," in which it is pronounced to be "the greatest bar to the advance of the Indian people in civilisation and aptitude for self-government."

It is a further ban upon the system that it is not recognised or in any way sanctioned in the Vedas, it being a rank growth of later times. The attempt on the part of so-called Indian nationalists to identify caste exactions with patriotic duty is based upon a false conception of true patriotism. There is much more of the real courage and dignity of true patriotism in the refusal of high-caste Hindus, on returning from foreign travel, to perform the degrading expiatory rite called for as a condition of their reinstatement after a visit to other continents. Many of these venturesome travellers have had the manhood and independence to rebel against the humiliating requirement, which, according to caste rules, alone can purify them from the polluting indiscretion of a visit to England or America, and this spirit is waxing more and more valiant. The ritual of the pill has been already formally abolished by groups of enlightened reformers, and others will in time, no doubt, follow the example. No conferences on reform now assemble without a vigorous discussion of the burdensome and fettering effects of the system. Numerous Indian princes, it may be remarked, have visited England in recent years, especially during the time of the coronation of King Edward VII. One of them, at least, the Maharaja of Jaipur, assumed the burdensome and almost impossible charge of carrying a small army of servants, an

enormous supply of drinking-water and provisions, and even the sacred soil to cleanse his cooking-utensils, so that he might not break caste by any accident of contamination during his prolonged journeying. Others, and the great majority, travelled as ordinary voyagers, and settled once for all the question of foreign travel and caste exactions, so far as they were concerned.

The aspect of the matter which concerns us here, however, is the proper attitude of Christianity towards caste, and the influence which it has already exerted, and will be likely still more to exert, in securing its disintegration and the ultimate annulment of its powerful sway. That its spirit and ruling principles are contrary to essential Christianity seems beyond dispute. The Master's example is assuredly nullified by caste, while it is contrary to the noblest and most sacred precepts of the Gospel message of unity and brotherhood. It is, moreover, a barrier to Christian communion, to unrestricted opportunity to do good acts, and to the operation and sway of unselfish kindness and universal love. It practically banishes the recognition of the one indwelling Spirit in the hearts of all believing followers of Christ. It introduces an unhappy and dangerous element of confusion into the Church relations of believers, and turns into a travesty the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. Its recognition within the Body of Christ involves a profound danger to the spiritual status as well as to the practical usefulness of the Church. It would dissever and partition the Church of Christ into segregated fragments, and it would seem to be inevitable that these divisions, if permitted to continue, would become stereotyped and mutually exclusive. It would surely be a grotesque anomaly to partition the Church into innumerable minor class divisions. Christian villages and towns would thus necessarily be divided into compartments, each one of which would represent a place of worship and fellowship for its own particular caste, and for no other, on pain of pollution and cruel hostility. This would be virtually an attempt to differentiate and label humanity before the throne of the one supreme Creator and God. It would be setting up exclusive doors and methods of access to the one universal Saviour, and pronouncing a

curse upon those of varying castes who were so indiscreet as to kneel side by side in the Master's presence.

Such, hitherto, has been the overmastering domination of the caste system that there has been a strange reluctance, even on the part of some evangelical missions—especially the Danish-Halle and Leipzig—to take a firm and unflinching stand in opposition to caste entanglements. The Roman Catholic Church has not only been tolerant, but has accepted caste distinctions within its pale, and has made no attempt to disturb their ascendancy, complacently adjusting its church administration to their exacting intricacies. It has allowed its church life to be dominated by caste rules, its adherents becoming apologists for the system, and treating it always with easy leniency. Protestant missions, however, with more or less unanimity, have contested its right to intrude itself into a Christian environment, and especially to assert itself within the Church. The Madura Mission of the American Board, as early as 1847, was so impressed with the blighting and demoralising possibilities of caste within the Christian ranks that it adopted a resolution compelling all natives entering the service of the Mission to renounce it, as a condition of their securing employment. The measure produced much disturbance in native circles at the time. The training school for native preachers suffered, and many native workers and church-members were for the time being suspended. The requirement, however, was carried through, and has been adhered to ever since. Even earlier than this date, in the days of Dr. Duff, a strenuous policy was advocated, and the British Government was urged by missionaries not to recognise or honour caste or extend to it Government patronage.

This unwillingness to allow the identification of class pretensions in any way with Christianity has been characteristic of Protestant missions, with hardly an exception, up to the present hour. Individual missionaries may in some instances have regarded the system with a tolerance or leniency quite at variance with the general sentiment of the missionary body ; but repeated formal utterances have been alike in their tone of deprecation and their unwillingness to give to caste the slightest recognition or

status within the pale of Christianity. The latest formal declaration is embodied in the Resolution dealing with this subject, passed by the Decennial Conference of 1902, held at Madras, which is as follows :

"The Conference would very earnestly emphasise the deliverance of the South Indian Missionary Conference of 1900, viz., that caste, wherever it exists in the Church, 'be treated as a great evil to be discouraged and repressed. It is further of opinion that in no case should any person who breaks the law of Christ by observing caste hold any office in connection with the Church, and it earnestly appeals to all Indian Christians to use all lawful means to eradicate so unchristian a system.'"

It was well known that the former Bishop of Madras, Dr. Gell, regarded caste as wholly indefensible, and not to be countenanced in any way within the pale of the Christian Church, and his successor, Dr. Whitehead, the present Bishop, holds substantially the same view, which he has clearly and forcibly expressed.

"Christianity with caste," he writes, "would be Christianity without the Body of Christ, and Christianity without the Body of Christ would be Christianity without union with Christ, and without reconciliation with God. Father Goreh was right—'Christianity with caste would be no Christianity at all.'"

The Bishop's language is extremely explicit, and may be further quoted, as follows :

"This is a matter, then, of supreme importance to the Christian Church of South India. There is undoubtedly a tendency to palliate and make terms with caste ; to allow it to retain its foothold in the Christian society ; to let it alone in the vain hope that it will die out of itself. In the same way the Israelites were tempted to make terms with the Canaanites in the Promised Land, to allow them to retain their foothold, in the hope that they would gradually die out of themselves. We know the result. There is reason to dread a similar result in the Christian Church in South India. Caste is an anti-Christian system. The Spirit of Christ and the truth of the Gospel demand that it should be exterminated in the Church with the same severity as the Canaanites of old."

This attitude on the part of missions has not been inconsistent with the establishment in some instances, as a matter of expediency, of special schools, where high-caste pupils alone are received. These have been conducted as

mission institutions, and have been favoured as a means of reaching with Christian instruction a certain class of pupils who otherwise would have been inaccessible. Converts' Homes for high-caste women have been opened in some missions, but have always and exclusively been devoted to Christian instruction and culture. They have been places of refuge for widows and wives, and for those who are homeless and in distress, and have been made the means of Christian nurture, and, by the force of example, incentives to honourable and worthy living. Even high-caste schools are useful in opening the homes of pupils to missionary visits, and thus, no doubt, many hearts have received lessons of lifelong power and value.

While here and there examples of this policy may be found, the overwhelming tendency and predominant scope of mission service has been to reach out after humanity, irrespective of caste distinctions. A magnificent work has been done for the lower castes in all parts of India. The Pariahs, or Panchamas, have been special objects of compassionate solicitude on the part of missionaries, and they have been gathered by thousands and tens of thousands into the Church of Christ, leaving behind them their caste disabilities, and entering the ranks of Christian fellowship as sons of God and heirs of the freedom which is in Christ. Peasant settlements of Pariahs have been a feature of Christian work in South India, and in both the North and the South great mass movements of the lower castes have been turning towards the Christian fold. To such an extent has this ingathering grown of late years that grave questions and serious embarrassments have arisen in various missions, lest the increase should prove too rapid, and the additions too uninstructed in Christian truth to advance the higher interests of the Church. Nevertheless, this infusion of the Pariah element into the ranks of mission converts has gone on apace, and, as a rule, caste has sunk out of sight, and the Christian bond has taken its place. It has not been an unnatural process; in fact, it is in keeping with historical precedent that Christianity should reach out after the needy and distressed, and should search for the forlorn and desolate as its own peculiar charge, specially commended to its compassionate ministry. If Christian

Christians as if they were outcastes, or rather members of a new and despised caste, and then visiting upon them the ostracism which caste rules require. This may be said to be a tendency already manifest, since a Christian is often treated as an outlaw, and finds it difficult to secure employment or enjoy social relationships. This, however, is quite a different aspect of the subject from that which would be implied in Christianity erecting itself consciously into a caste, and assuming the *rôle* of an exclusive and militant faction such as the caste system exhibits. We have good reason to believe that Indian Christianity will not fall into such a grave and foolish entanglement as this step would involve.

In considering the practical bearings of mission work upon caste, the influence of education should not be overlooked, since it is an agency which must be credited with a mighty disintegrating force and a powerful trend towards the weakening and uprooting of the system. Many prominent mission schools, no doubt, have had a hard battle in trying to control the caste spirit, but firmness and persistence, in the face even of seeming disaster, have, in almost every instance, resulted in victory. A new spirit of readiness to thrust aside caste for the sake of education seems to be growing more assertive in many parts of India. Educated men, even from among the Pariahs, are accepted, in numerous instances, by high-caste parents as teachers of village schools where their children attend. Petitions for Christian teachers, irrespective of any caste relationship, are frequently received by missionaries from high-caste villages, with the understanding that the school is to be opened to all classes indiscriminately. Some of the most accomplished and highly educated preachers in the native churches of India are men of low-caste antecedents. Education has changed their standing in the eyes of all, and given a new outlook to their life.

In fact, the educational advantages which missions have so freely granted to the lower classes are working a social upturning of unexpected and gratifying magnitude. The lower castes in many localities are pressing hard upon those of the upper ranks. In some portions of India the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas, and others even lower in the

scale, are obliterating the artificial distinctions which favour and puff up the Brahmans. In certain communities the high-caste man is now the ignoramus, and the low-caste man has a monopoly of superior intelligence. While the Brahmans, in many instances, are merely marking time, the lower castes, in increasing numbers, are marching briskly and hopefully forward. The changes among the Mahars in the Nagpur District are of striking suggestiveness. The United Free Church of Scotland Mission in that region anticipates great social changes in the near future. One of its missionaries in Santalia, the Rev. James M. Macphail, writes that character, conduct, and education, rather than caste, are becoming the basis of social rank. "Many posts formerly held by educated Hindus in Government service, on the railway, in collieries, and in private establishments, are now held by Christian Santals." Mrs. Ellen M. Kelly, of the Baptist Mission in Ongole, speaks of great changes in that vicinity. Barriers, hitherto insurmountable, to the mixing of castes in educational institutions are fast disappearing. "People of the highest caste do not now look upon these Mala or Madiga converts with the same horror and repugnance that they felt some years back."

These examples are cheering, though it must be admitted that as yet they are regarded as exceptions to the general trend of experience in India. Education is by no means a panacea, still less a force to be relied upon to dissipate caste feeling. Educated Hindus, apart from all Christian relationships, are in most instances as much slaves to the social exactions of caste as the most ignorant peasant. The educated Hindu knows better; but he is either indifferent or cowardly, and although he inwardly recognises the absurdities of caste requirements, yet he yields ignominiously to its every demand. It is only the thoroughgoing Christian, or the stout-hearted Hindu reformer, of whose attitude to caste we can be sure.

Still another feature of mission work which has its influence as a deterrent to caste enthrallment is the medical branch of the service. The curious question arose in Dr. Duff's day whether high-caste medical students could afford to engage in dissection as a part of their technical

training, and it was Dr. Duff himself whose influence over medical students led them to decide that their efficient training necessarily involved the dissection and study of the dead body. "Most certainly," said a young Brāhman who had been under Dr. Duff's instruction, when asked as to his willingness to touch a dead body in his study of anatomy, "I, for one, would have no scruple in the matter. It is all prejudice, old stupid prejudice of caste, of which I at least have got rid." Other members of the class, it is related, heartily chimed in with this utterance.

There are many hospitals where the exactions and immense burdens of caste discipline have been observed, doubtless in a spirit of compassionate kindness to patients; yet the exigencies of medical and surgical practice, as well as the settled rule of most missionary hospitals, have banished caste. Patients, if they desire to receive the services of physicians and nurses, must enter the wards as ordinary human beings, who will be treated with all consideration and kindness, but without regard to the hampering and vexatious regulations which the laws of caste require. Dr. Wanless, of the Miraj Hospital, says that when the hospital was opened they waited for six months before any but a low-caste man was willing to enter the wards. At the present time, however, there are not infrequently half a dozen castes, including Brahmans, side by side, on the same kind of beds, receiving the same mode of treatment, from the same Christian hands. A medical missionary of the English Baptist Missionary Society writes that he regards the medical service as "the most potent agency working in India to-day for the breaking down of caste prejudices and superstitions."

The influence of missions upon Hindu public opinion concerning caste is by no means a negligible quantity. We cannot, to be sure, credit all the change of views on the part of prominent Hindus directly to missions; and yet the principles which missionaries advocate are in the air, while much, no doubt, of the reform spirit in Hindu circles is due to the stanch and vigorous attitude of missions on this burning theme. It is obviously true, as Mr. Justice Ranade asserts, that the reform movement means liberation, and a return to the freedom of early times

when the intolerable bondage of caste was not in existence. There are, however, at the present time too many conspicuous instances of repudiation of caste on the part of distinguished Indians, and too many expressions of hearty sympathy with the views and practice of missionaries, to leave in doubt the influence of missions as bearing upon this particular subject among educated Hindus. One of the most prominent examples at the present time is the Gaikwar of Baroda, who is a reformer of pronounced and aggressive spirit, whose repeated utterances on the evils of caste and its damaging power over Hindu society are familiar to every reader of present-day Indian literature. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, a leader in Hindu circles in Western India, is another example. A recent address by leading caste people to Bishop Whitehead, of Madras, is a still further illustration. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar has expressed himself in unmistakable opposition to the caste system. Mr. R. Srinivasa Rau, President of the Kistna District Social Conference, declares that "caste has outlived its day, and the surest proof of this is to be found in the fact that the best of us do not believe in it." A recent number of *The Indian Witness*, a Christian paper published in Calcutta, remarks that "one of the notable features of present-day movement in India is the universal denunciation of caste by Indians themselves. From north, south, east, and west come diatribes against it." In support of this assertion, extended quotations are given from Hindu journals confirming and emphasising the statement. In South India has been formed what is known as the "Caste-Suppression Society." It is an organisation composed largely of native membership, intended to exert an influence in opposition to caste, and to devise practical measures for its abolishment. These, and numerous similar illustrations, appearing with increasing frequency, are sufficient evidence that the "mental seclusion" which Mr. Meredith Townsend regards as so characteristic of India cannot be deemed a fixed quantity. There is even now a "caste movement inside of Hindu society" which threatens in time to make void the system itself and all its mythical pretensions. The lower castes are trending upward and the higher castes are trending downward. Hindus, upon whom their caste

status presses heavily, are becoming restless, and decline to acquiesce meekly in their fate. The higher castes are, on the other hand, forfeiting their status by engaging in trades and occupations which a few years ago would have been regarded as beneath them. The citadel of Hinduism is thus crumbling from its own weight and decay.

In the light of the facts presented, have we not good reason to believe that the growth of Christian institutions in India will stimulate opposition to caste pretensions, and work steadily, albeit slowly, towards their disintegration and ultimate suppression and overthrow?

The existence of caste in other mission fields is a matter of minor interest in comparison with its prominence in India. The Japanese, let us note, will have no semblance of it, and in 1871 abolished the disabilities resting upon the Pariah class, known as the *eta* or *hinin*.

JAMES S. DENNIS.

EDITORIAL NOTES

*Introductions
to
our readers.*

IN the present issue are included two articles on the subject of missionary vocation, one by the *Bishop of Mashonaland* (Dr. Gaul) whose words have already inspired many to undertake missionary work, and the other by the *President of the Federation of Junior Clergy Missionary Associations* in England, who is a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. In these associations more than five thousand clergy are enrolled, and we trust that the words of their president may induce its members to realise that great as is the work which the associations have done by stirring up interest in foreign Missions at home, their claim to the title "missionary" will remain a somewhat uncertain one until they have sent out at least a tithe of their members to work abroad.

The *Bishop of Lucknow* (Dr. Clifford), who has been a missionary in India for over thirty years, writes in support of the suggestion contained in the first article of our last issue, that deaconesses should be authorised by the Indian Bishops to baptize women within the Purdah. Any readers of his article who may not have seen the previous one dealing with the same subject would do well to obtain it. The question is of vital importance in view of the spread of Christianity throughout India. The article by *Mr. Andrews*, who is a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, reveals the close connection between life in Japan and in India. If Japan's victory over Russia is to create new difficulties for England in her administration of India, it seems only fair that Japan in virtue of her alliance with England should become at least indirectly responsible for the defence of India from external attack.

Dr. Zwemer, who writes on Islam in Arabia, has travelled as a pioneer missionary in Arabia, and knows perhaps more than any other European of the condition of the country and people.

Dr. J. S. Dennis writes on Caste in India. He is well known to missionary students by his numerous publications, one of which, a *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, has been several times quoted by writers in THE EAST AND THE WEST. We understand that a third volume of his *Christian Missions and Social Progress* is now in the press.

Dr. White, who is a lecturer in Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Dublin, is one of the chief authorities on the history of St. Patrick, and has published some critical notes on his *Confession* and his *Letter to the subjects of Caroticus*. The patron saint of Ireland has been strangely neglected by students of Missions, and we are glad to have the opportunity of urging our readers to study his life and the writings which he has left. St. Patrick was formerly regarded by Irishmen as a countryman of their own. His birthplace was then assigned to Scotland. According to Professor Bury Wales and England are entitled to dispute the honour of having given him birth.

*The re-
establishment
of peace in the
Far East.*

OF the many achievements which will stand recorded on the page of history to the credit of Japan when the generation which has witnessed the recent Russo-Japanese war has passed away, none will so lastingly redound to her credit as the final episode by which the conclusion of peace was brought about. It has sometimes been asserted that only one unselfish act has ever been performed by a nation which possessed a representative government. This was the setting free of the West Indian slaves at a cost to the English nation of £12,000,000. Future historians will be able to point to a far more striking instance of national unselfishness when they explain how Japan after an uninterrupted series of victories by land and sea unparalleled in the history of warfare, had collected a force of a million soldiers in order to

inflict a final and crushing blow upon her adversary which would have enabled her to dictate her own terms of peace, and how she then deliberately withdrew the demand for an indemnity which the precedents of previous wars justified her in making, because only by so doing could the war be brought to an immediate close, and how she did this by the direction of her Emperor and his cabinet, with the full knowledge that her action would be misinterpreted, and regarded as a sign of weakness or fear by her adversary and be unpopular amongst a large section of her own subjects.

The self-restraint which Japan has shown reminds us of the old Vedic saying "I may conquer a thousand thousand men in battle, but he who conquers himself is the greatest victor."

To anyone who has had personal experience of the Japanese and who knows how a cultured native of Japan will sit for an hour at a time studying and admiring the beauty of a tree or the colour of a flower, the very suggestion that his country should continue to fight when the object of the war had ceased to be the maintenance of national honour and had become the collection of a debt may well seem absurd.

The vehement protests against the ratification of the treaty which have been made by a section of the Japanese population show that the ideals of their rulers are not shared by all, but inasmuch as in Japan the Government is a genuinely representative one, the credit of its action must be attributed to the nation as a whole. Baron Kaneko, who is credited with having acted as the Mikado's adviser during the Peace Conference, says :

"Compared with what we receive—the power to prove to the world that peace is dear to us, that Pagan treatment of prisoners is comparable to Christian treatment, that Japan is entitled now to a place in the world's councils, money is of secondary importance. In Japan we regard honour both of the individual and of the nation as above money. . . . I do not care whether we obtain money or not."

*The progress
of education
in China.*

WITHIN the last few days—that is since the article by Dr. Richard in our present issue was written—an edict of far reaching significance has been issued in Pekin.

According to a telegram published in the *Times* dated Pekin, September 7 :

“An edict has been issued in reply to a memorial from Yuan Shih-kai and other prominent men abolishing the whole system of examination for degrees, under which candidates for official positions were required to be proficient in the writings of Confucius and other classics. In future officials will be recruited from the ranks of those educated under a modern system in schools established throughout the country. Examinations will be held in the various schools and not in the central towns as formerly. This edict offers the strongest inducement to a Chinaman to acquaint himself with Western learning.

“Another edict advocates the despatch abroad of increasing numbers of students, chiefly to America and Great Britain.”

A share in the credit for the issue of this edict is certainly due to the “Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese.” During the past year this Society, under the direction of its energetic secretary Dr. Richard, has issued more than thirty million pages in the Chinese language. Its list of vice-presidents includes the names of the Bishops of Mid-China and of Shanghai, and its work is of direct assistance to all missionary societies in China. Apart, however, from the religious influence which the society is exerting, it is doing invaluable work by putting into the hands of the Chinese secular publications which will directly promote the education and civilisation of the people and the creation of a good understanding between the East and the West.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK IN CHINA.

[IN answer to a letter addressed by the Editor to Dr. Martin, until recently president of the Chinese Government Imperial University, and for more than thirty years resident in China, in regard to the political and religious outlook in Chinese Government circles, he has received the following.]

Dear Sir,—After three years' residence at this "hub" of the Chinese Empire I am happy to report that the outlook is highly encouraging to the friends of missions and to all well-wishers of this people. The course of things is not unlike that of China's greatest river (on which my eyes now rest). There are whirlpools where the current seems to stop ; there are eddies in which the water runs counter to the general movement. There are hidden rocks and unseen dangers, yet the huge volume moves on to the ocean, with noiseless flow. This is a picture of what is called the "reform movement."

It has taken a strong hold on the forces that control public opinion. Our Viceroy *Chang* became possessed by it after the war with Japan (1894-5), and wrote a book endorsed by the Emperor advocating education as China's only hope. In this case the highest peak first caught the sunshine, and it has been slow in reaching even the mandarins—not to say the masses. But the Boxer war supplied a convincing argument. It converted the Empress Dowager, herself a "Boxer." She is now urging her dilatory officials to open lower, middle and high schools in all their cities. In this city about sixty were recently opened in one day.

One difficulty is to find teachers, and another to secure fidelity in administration. Christian schools afford them an object lesson, and a rare opportunity is offered for educational enterprise in the hands of missionaries.

A third lesson, not less effective than that of the other two wars, is the success of Japan against Russia. The craze of the hour is to imitate the Japanese. Over three thousand students have

gone to the Islands for instruction, but those who gain any solid benefits are a small percentage. Happily the Chinese autocracy is bowing to the liberal institutions which the Island Empire borrowed from the West. The Government has announced that the people may expect the grant of a free constitution in twelve years, and that from this time forward a certain measure of local self-government is to be conceded as a preparation for parliamentary representation. The people look with growing favour on the Church of Christ, and increasing numbers seek to enter the open door.

W. A. P. MARTIN.

Wuchang, July 7, 1905.

REVIEWS

In and Out of Hospital. Sketches of medical work in an Indian Mission. By Dr. Charlotte Vines, C. of E. Zenana Missionary Society, Punjab. Published by Marshall. Price 2s. net. 192 pp.

AN admirable collection of stories of medical missionary work in India, which would do well for reading at women's or children's meetings. It is hardly possible to imagine a book more certain to create an interest in Indian missions. It is well illustrated with black and white sketches.

Young Japan. By J. A. B. Scherer. 328 pp. Published by Kegan Paul. Price 6s.

A REVIEW of the author's *Japan To-day* has already appeared in THE EAST AND THE WEST. The present volume, if not quite so interesting as the former, is nevertheless well worth reading. It deals especially with the educational development of the Japanese. The author, who was a teacher in a Japanese college, is in full sympathy with missionary work.

Outline Studies on Japan and Outline Studies on Mohammedanism. By the Rev. T. Tatlow, Educational Secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. Published by the S.V.M.U. Price 4d. each.

THESE two outlines contain the headings of a course of imaginary lectures on the subject or country of which they treat, together

with a list of books to which the student is advised to refer. They are both likely to be useful, though it seems a pity that they are not priced at a penny, *i.e.* the price they would actually cost.

Studies in Buddhism and Christianity. By A. H. Small. Published by the S.V.M.U. Price 1s. net. 73 pp.

A BRIEF sketch of the rise and of the teaching of Buddhism followed by some "studies" in which the character and teaching of Christ and Gautama are contrasted. The bibliography contains one surprising omission, *viz.*, the book on Buddhism by Dr. Coppleston, the present Bishop of Calcutta.

The Religious Question in France. By C. Salmond, D.D. Published by Macniven & Wallace. Price 6d. 102 pp.

Christus Liberator. An outline study of Africa. By Ellen Parsons, with an introduction by Sir Harry Johnston. Published by the Macmillan Co. New York. Price 2s. net.

THIS volume, which is intended to form one of the same series as the outline studies of India, China and Japan, is by no means as carefully written as the other volumes. The authoress apparently regards the fact that "the Church of England in South Africa represents the ritualistic wing of the Church of England" as a sufficient reason for omitting all references to the missionary work which the Church of South Africa or the S.P.G. is doing throughout the whole of South Africa. She has apparently never heard of the mission to West Africa, started by the S.P.G. in 1751 and carried on for sixty years, which has recently been re-started.

By Lake and Forest. By Frances Awdry and Eda Green. Price 1s. 6d. net. 92 pp.

A HISTORY and description of missionary work in Algoma.

The writers recall the wonderful pioneer work of the Jesuits before Canada became an English possession. "Where others could not think it justifiable to venture they would go forth to almost certain death fearless, for death to them meant the much-desired crown of martyrdom; so hungering for the souls of the Red-men, they pressed over Westward, and were most of them murdered sooner or later. But what matter? There was always another Father ready to step into his comrade's place the moment that he fell." It is not wonderful therefore that even now the

Roman Catholic Church is the largest Christian community in the Far West. The authors emphasise the fact that it is not right that the Church of England should be as far behind as it is, being practically fourth in the field, as it is outnumbered by both the Presbyterian and the Methodist. The last chapter of the book discusses the present conditions of religion and education in Canada. The book is to be had of Miss Eda Green, 1a Sheffield Terrace, Kensington. The Bishop of St. Albans has written the preface.

Leaders of the Church 1800-1900, edited by C. W. Russell, published by Mowbray, price 6s. each. *Dean Church*, by D. C. Lathbury; *Bishop Wilberforce*, by Reginald C. Wilberforce.

IN the general preface to this new biographical series Mr. Russell explains that these biographies are to be written by laymen in the hope that "a certain freshness might thus be imparted to subjects already more or less familiar, and that a class of readers who are repelled by the details of ecclesiasticism might be attracted by a more human and in some sense a more secular treatment of religious lives." We are afraid that this laudable object has not been attained as regards the publication of the first of the above books, as ecclesiastical disputes of one kind or another are made to occupy more than half the volume. Even so the book is well worth reading. The description given of Dean Church's literary work is specially interesting.

The second volume, the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, is well written and will be of interest to all readers. The writer, a son of Bishop Wilberforce, has rendered a great service by publishing in a cheaper and more portable form the life of one of England's greatest bishops.

Saints and Savages. By Robert Lamb, M.B., formerly Superintendent of the Medical Mission, New Hebrides. Published by Blackwood. 313 pp.

THIS is a series of sketches of life in the New Hebrides. The hero is a missionary whose identity is not disclosed, though he is clearly a genuine personage. The book is attractively written, and several of the scenes are strikingly drawn. The horrible influence of a French trader in an unfrequented region forms the subject of an unpleasant but realistic chapter.

The author expresses a hope that this style of character is now less common than then, but clearly has his doubts.

Here is a specimen of native belief as expressed in writing by one of the islanders: "We did not know about God before the

white men came and taught us. Nor did we know of the existence of the devil till some of the boys returned from Queensland and told us. But we always believed in the existence of two great spirits, whom we call Vyu or Vi. . . White men are called 'vyu' too, because our fathers thought they were spirits, and that they had come down from the sky."

The book is well illustrated. If it succeeds in leaving a clear impression of the immense difficulties the missionary has to face, it certainly argues convincingly that the Islander is worth reaching.

THE *Journal of the African Society* (Macmillan. Price 6s.) for July contains a translation of an article by Dr. Lippert of Berlin which will be of interest to all students of West African history. Dr. Lippert has collected the documentary and other evidence available relating to the history of Kano and several other of the principal Hausa towns, and gives some helpful suggestions in view of a reconstruction of their early history.

The Contemporary Review for September contains an interesting article on the religion of the American negro by Mr. F. M. Davenport. The writer of the article confines himself to the Baptist and other Nonconformist forms of religion as now professed by negroes in America, tracing their similarity to the African heathen cults which the forefathers of these people so recently observed. The negro preacher is the descendant of the African medicine-man, the "sheep-calling Baptists" are not many degrees removed from Voodooism, and the "Rocking-Daniel dance" has a close resemblance to the Indian "ghost-dance." In this remarkable performance, which takes place in Florida, the members of the chapel form a circle in front of the pulpit, in the centre of which the leader stands. They move around the leader in single file, singing "Rock Daniel, rock Daniel, rock Daniel till I die." Then they fall into regular step and gesticulate and shout till exhaustion supervenes; this takes place immediately after the Communion Service. The moral of the article seems to be that protestantism has only succeeded in Christianising this impressionable people on the surface, and has itself been influenced by heathen rites just as Buddhism has been influenced by Confucianism in China. In illustration of the danger of appointing native "ecclesiastical" leaders the writer quotes a statement which recently appeared in an American newspaper, signed by a Nonconformist native "bishop," who wrote:

"But through His death and resurrection we may commit sins of lying, stealing, Sabbath-breaking, getting drunk, gambling,

whoring, murdering and every species of villainy, and then come to God through our resurrected Christ and enter heaven in the end."

THE *Church Quarterly Review* for July contains an interesting article on "The Church in Newfoundland." The article gives a sketch of the conditions of life in the island and an account of the ecclesiastical organisation and the financial difficulties of the Church.

THE article entitled "Are Missions to Mohammedans Justifiable?" which appeared in THE EAST AND THE WEST for January last has been reprinted by request. Copies can be obtained from the S.P.G. office, 19 Delahay Street, at 1*d.* per copy or 9*d.* per dozen.

Bound copies of the annual volume of THE EAST AND THE WEST for 1905, including list of contents and index, will be obtainable early in November through any bookseller, or direct from the S.P.G. House, for 4*s.* 6*d.*, or 4*s.* 11*d.* post free. Cases for binding can be supplied for 6*d.*, or post free 8*d.*

There are still some copies of the bound volumes of THE EAST AND THE WEST for 1903 and 1904, which can be obtained at the same price—*i.e.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, or 4*s.* 11*d.* post free.

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